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Conducted by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 9 -No. 6

APRIL, 1915

Whole No. 54



MUSIC AND ART

L AST month marked the first appearance of the Vocal Quartet at the Music School Settlement for Colored People in the City of New York, and also the String Quartet. Among the speakers has been the Hon. Charles W. Anderson and the musical performers have included Mr. and Mrs. David Mannes, David Bispham and Walter Damrosch.

The Washington Concert Orchestra of the District of Columbia is now in its second season under the leadership of Mr. Harry A. Williams. The concert of the orchestra at the Howard Theatre last month was unusually successful and evinced a high degree of orchestral development. The assisting soloists were Mrs. Daisy Tapley, contralto of New York, Miss Celestine Lott, pianist and Mrs. Mariorie Groves Robinson, accompanist. An excellent program was given including numbers from Offenbach, Grieg, Rossini, Schubert, Schumann, Bizet, Burleigh, Strauss, Rosamond Johnson and Will H. Dixon. Miss Lott played the Schumann concerto in A minor for the closing number.

¶Mr. Charles Burroughs of New York, the well known reader, was heard in Washington, D. C., in a program of classical modern writers.

¶In a recital at Aeolian Hall, New York City, by Christine Miller and George Hamlin, two songs by Burleigh were sung. One, "The Glory of the Day Was in Her Face," was set to words by Iames W. Iohnson.

¶In the auditorium of John Wanamaker's store, New York City, a Lincoln's birthday concert was given by the Jubilee Glee Club composed of colored employees. Mr. Harry Burleigh, Mr. Gordon Kahn and Mr. Alexander Russell assisted. Selections from Coleridge-Taylor, Rosamond Johnson and Will Marion Cook were rendered.

■Will Marion Cook's "Swing Along" was sung by the University Glee Club at the Princeton Club House, New York City.

(I) A mixed chorus of 50 voices at the Upper Montclair Presbyterian Church sang Burleigh's "Negro Spirituals."
(I) The works of Samuel Coleridge-Tay-

The works of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor appeared in the program of Miss Jean Vincent Cooper at the West Side Y. M. C. A., New York City. Miss Cooper is a pupil of Sergei Klibanski. The same composer appeared on the program of Mr. Carl Rupprecht, baritone, at the Claude Warford Studios, in the Metropolitan Opera House.

¶ On the afternoon of February 20th, Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare, pianist, assisted by Mr. William H. Richardson, baritone, gave a lecture-recital before the Hascall Music Club. This is an organization of music students and patrons of music under the presidency of Mrs. H. Hascall, a noted vocal teacher of Boston. The recital was given in the hall of the Pierce Studio Building.

¶Mr. William Stanley Braithwaite, the poet and critic of Boston, Mass., was given a dinner party in New York City as an expression of appreciation of his value to American writers. The dinner was attended by leading literary folk of the country including a number of poets and was followed by added attentions to Mr. Braithwaite and his wife upon the part of the individuals who composed the committee.

¶ At Ellis Island in New York Harbor, where large numbers of immigrants are detained on account of the war, a series of concerts are being given. On February 14th the music was furnished by the Clef Club Orchestra and Wana-

maker's Colored Jubilee Club.

MEETINGS

THE annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held in New York City, has attracted much attention throughout the country. The Governor of the State was presented and a large audience witnessed the proceedings.

Many of the colored teachers' associations are meeting this spring. The Alabama State Teachers' Association met in Montgomery, the Virginia Teachers' Association and I mprovement League met in Richmond and the

Brunswick Teachers' Institute was held at St. Paul School, Lawrenceville, Va.

«A State Negro Bar Association has

been meeting in Oklahoma.

¶A meeting of colored people in New Haven was addressed by Joseph C. Manning and adopted resolutions condemning the attitude of President Wil-

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¶Lincoln memorial meetings were held by colored people at numbers of places throughout the United States. At Mobile, Ala., prizes were distributed to children for essays on Lincoln.

The Republican Club of New York City took as its subject for discussion, Saturday, February 20th, the question

"Is Democracy Gaining Over Aristocracy and the Spirit of Brotherhood Over Race Hatred?" Among the speakers were Prof. W. M. Sloane and Prof. Franz Boaz of Columbia University, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York University and Prof. T. Iyenaga of Chicago University; the Negro race was represented by Prof. William Pickens of Wiley University.

¶At the Dinner of the Sunrise Club for March the question of land and labor in the South will be discussed. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois will make the principal address. This is a radical organization in New York City for the free discus-

sion of social questions.

The Houston College Settlement Association of Houston, Texas, has held its fourth annual session.

¶ Congressman Madden has addressed audiences in Washington and Boston. The latter meeting, under the N. A. A. C. P., filled Tremont Temple and was the largest meeting for Negro rights

since Abolition days.

The Odd Fellows have been celebrating Peter Ogden Day by a series of

EDUCATION

PRESIDENT John Hope of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., announces a gift of \$15,000 from the General Education Board for the erection of a new dormitory. The American Baptist Home Mission Society will add \$5,000 to this and the colored people of the state must raise an additional \$5,000.

■The denial of high school training to colored children in the South is causing agitation for Negro high schools in cities like Norfolk, Va. The white people of this city have a high school which cost \$275,000 with equipment, and are planning an equally costly one. The Negro schools stop with the seventh grade.

■ In Baltimore, Ohio, colored people are agitating for a new high school building, the present one being wretchedly in-

adequate.

meetings.

In his Washington birthday address at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., President Charles W. Dabney, of Cincinnati University, advocated a national fund for the education

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of Negroes and mountain whites. He instanced the appropriations for Indian

education as precedents.

The General Education Board of New York City has increased its appropriation for industrial work in rural schools among the Negroes of Georgia from

\$3,500 to \$5,500.

President James N. Gregory of the Bordentown State Industrial School for Negro Boys together with Mrs. Fannie E. Gregory, preceptress, and the Rev. Frank Gregory, principal, have resigned their positions. William R. Valentine of Indianapolis has been suggested to succeed the president.

■ The Howard University appropriation was held up in the House of Representatives on a point of order by Sisson, of Mississippi. The Senate restored the item and the University will receive \$101,000. A proposed item of \$3,000 for

sociological work was dropped.

The mid-winter meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute has taken place. Among the distinguished visitors were Dr. F. A. McKenzie, the new president of Fisk University, Mr. Julius Rosenwald, Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Mr. Seth Low.

¶A gift of \$40,000 has been made to Hampton Institute by an anonymous

donor.

POLITICS

PRESIDENT WILSON continues his policy of replacing colored officials with white men no matter what the efficiency of the colored men has been. Mr. Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue in the richest district of the nation, including Wall Street, New York City, has recently been displaced by a comparatively unknown southern white man. An Indian, H. B. Tehee, has been appointed Register of the Treasury, a position long held by colored men. Charles A. Cottrill, a colored man of Ohio, has been a most efficient Collector of Customs at Honolulu, Hawaii. He is now to be replaced by a white man. The only office hitherto held by colored men which is unfilled is that of Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia. There is little hope that President Wil-

son will have the courage to put a colored man even in this place.

Major R. R. Jackson, a colored member of the General Assembly of Illinois, has introduced a bill designed to prevent the presentation of plays and moving pictures like the "Clansman."

The legislature of Arkansas has passed a bill to consolidate state and federal elections. White people have feared that this bill may so increase the power of Negro voters as to put Negroes in the legislature.

In Moberly, Mo., colored men for the first time have been allowed to vote in

the democratic primaries.

¶A colored man, Oscar De Priest, has been nominated by the republicans for a seat in the City Council of Chicago. He was formerly a County Commissioner.

¶A strong civil rights bill has been introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature by Representative Stein of Pitts-

burgh.

■ Lemuel W. Livingston, a colored man and American Consul at Cape Haitien, Haiti, has been called to Port au Prince to assist the American Commission which is aiding in the reorganization of Haitian finances.

¶ Charles H. Turpin, a colored man of St. Louis, who has held the office of Constable has been allowed a recount of votes by the Supreme Court. On the face of the returns his opponent was declared elected at the last election.

ECONOMICS

T HE colored people of Ocala, Fla., have started a small knitting factory. It is at present situated in a building owned by George Giles. This is the first venture of the sort among people of either race in Florida.

Two colored men, Moses McKissack and Searcy Scales, have bought the Capital City Planing Mill, one of the oldest plants of its kind in Nashville, Tenn. McKissack is an architect and Scales a contractor. They propose to manufacture all the material used in their business.

The Atlanta Mutual Insurance Company, a strong colored organization of which A. F. Herndon is President, has recently absorbed the Union Mutual As-

sociation, a similar organization. It is expected that the combined companies will have a premium income of nearly half a million dollars a year. Mr. T. K. Gibson will be General Manager of the consolidated company.

¶It is said that the African Union Company, a New York corporation, has shipped from Africa to New York recently 5,820 pounds of cocoa beans and 294

tons of mahogany.

The Alabama Penny Savings Bank founded by the late W. R. Pettiford twenty-five years ago, has recently absorbed the Prudential Savings Bank which is four years old. The combined institutions, situated in Birmingham, Ala., will have a paid up capital of \$100,000.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

M R. Booker T. Washington as President of the National Negro Business League has issued a call asking various national Negro associations to join in observing National Health Week, March 21st to March 27th. The organizations invited are the Medical Association, Colored Women's Clubs, Urban League, the teachers in colored schools,

The Eighth Infantry of the Illinois National Guard has had a house-warming in their new armory at 35th Street and Forest Avenue, Chicago. Some 5,000 people attended. The armory has cost nearly \$200,000 and is due largely to the persistence of Col. F. A. Dennison. We call the attention of the militant South to the fact that the white Adjutant-General of the State led Mrs. Dennison in the grand march, and that fully 200 white people joined in the dancing.

The United Colored Charities have been at work in Norfolk, Va., and a colored employment fund has been raised

in Louisville, Ky.

¶ Records of immigrants to the United States in the last fifteen years show that the Portuguese are most illiterate (63 per cent.) followed by the South Italians (52 per cent.) and Poles (35 per cent.) and the Japanese (22 per cent.). Of the Negroes 19.8 per cent. were illiterate.

The Colored Women's Clubs of the state of Missouri after twelve years of

work have secured an appropriation of nearly \$75,000 for the completion and maintenance of the state industrial home for wayward colored girls.

The Organized Charities and Civic Settlement League composed of colored people of Macon, Ga., have been looking after housing and health conditions in

that city.

¶ The Negro exposition to be held July
4th to August 4th will take place on the
Virginia State Fair Grounds in Richmond.

¶ Dan Ferguson, a colored sprinter of Ohio State University, has just won the indoor mile race with the best time record in the history of the University. ¶ The Columbus, Ohio Branch of the

¶The Colored Citizens League of Atlanta, Ga., is urging colored men to pay their poll taxes, register and vote.

¶An "Afro-American History Story Telling Association" has been incorporated in the District of Columbia. It aims to collect and preserve historical material, maintain libraries and museums and take part in historical celebrations. Miss Laura E. Wilkes is president.

¶The National Benefit Association, an industrial insurance company of colored men in Washington, D. C., is running a nine inch advertisement three columns wide in the leading local daily, The

Washington Post.

The Homemakers' Club for Negro girls in Alabama has had 11 agents who have traveled 7,324 miles in making their weekly visits and held 743 meetings. They have canned 7,272 jars of fruit and vegetables. Some of their work was ex-

hibited at the Alabama State Fair.

A new theatre for colored people, said to be the finest in the South, has been opened in Birmingham, Ala., on Fourth Avenue between 17th and 18th Streets. Two thousand paid admissions were taken in on the opening afternoon.

¶At the Congregational Club in Brooklyn Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard strongly denounced that element in the South which oppresses the black man.

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¶A movement is on foot to place a monument on the grave of Sojourner Truth at Battle Creek, Mich.

¶In Brooks County, Ga., the Negroes own property the assessed valuation of

which is \$556.977.

¶W. Calvin Chase, the militant editor of the Washington Bee, went to the High School the other day to tell Prof. A. H. Glenn how to run his classes. The professor refused to let the editor show him, and resented some of the alleged sharp remarks of Editor Chase by bringing a chair down upon his head with sledge hammer force.—Afro-American Ledger.

THE CHURCH

W HITE and colored ministers of Raleigh, N. C., have had a joint meeting to discuss moral uplift.

The Young Women's Christian Association has started a colored branch in Indianapolis and has interested 600 women. In Washington, D. C., the colored branch has bought and paid for its property and last winter installed steam heat. In St. Louis, Mo., the colored branch has raised \$9,300 among colored people for a new home and a white friend added \$10,000.

The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention has arranged its nineteenth annual program for the 17,000 colored Baptist Sunday Schools throughout the country. It will be used on Easter Sunday. Copies can be had by addressing the Rev. L. G. Jordan, 624 S. 18th Street, Philadelphia,

Pa.

PERSONAL

THE Atlantic City (N. J.) Daily Press says editorially:

"To secure two acquittals out of three homicide cases and to have the third settled on a manslaughter basis with a penalty of from one to ten years in prison is no small task for even the best-known white lawyer with a great reputation—especially when the whole calendar is cleared up within one week. But for this feat to be accomplished by a colored lawyer—a man who has persevered under the severe handicap which is the undeniable lot of all Negroes in America

—is genuinely remarkable. Isaac T. Nutter, colored member of the local bar, is entitled to full credit for his splendid work at Mays Landing during the week just closing."

¶ Irvin T. Howe, a colored sprinter from Colby College, won the 75 yard dash in 7 4-5 seconds, beating the Irish-American champion, in New York City.
¶ Edgar C. Young of the Senior Class in the General Theological Seminary captured the Ward prize for Bible reading from nine white competitors. The Seminary is in New York City.

¶Dr. Paul Crosthwaite, a young colored dentist, made the second highest average in a recent civil service examination in Chicago. His mark was 81.9 per cent., while the mark of the first man was 82.8 per cent. Dr. Crosthwaite is an assistant in the office of Dr. C. E. Bentley.

¶ Harry E. Burris, a colored mail carrier of Rock Island, Iowa, was given a banquet recently by the mail carriers of his post office, on the completion of twenty-five years continuous service. The postmaster and his assistant were present.

■ Lawyer W. A. Carter of Cincinnati, is said to be responsible for initiating the movement which allows colored men in that city to take the firemen's examination

President B. F. Allen of Lincoln Institute has been re-elected by the Regents for two years.

¶Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois has been lecturing in West Virginia, Ohio and Illinois. In Ohio he addressed the City Club on the underlying causes of the present European war.

¶ Gabriel L. Jones one of the best known colored men of Indiana died recently. He was a former member of the legis-

lature.

THE GHETTO

THE record of discrimination this month is appalling and begins with another suit against the New York Tribune for refusing to deliver lots bought by Thomas A. Payton. The Tribune finally compromised by paying Mr. Payton a satisfactory sum.

[Rural segregation was pushed in the North Carolina legislature, by a bill of

Senator Majette, but defeated.

¶ In Richmond, Va., a proposal has been made to amend the segregation law so as to make it more difficult for Negroes to buy property.

¶In Morristown, Tenn., a colored teacher in a colored college hired a house opposite the campus but the white neighbors protested so that the owner broke the contract.

¶A bitter fight for a segregation ordinance is being made again in St. Louis. A segregation ordinance has been passed

in Spartanburg, S. C.

¶In Petersburg, Va., an evil smelling incinerator plant has been placed adjacent to the Jones Street colored public school, by the city.

(I White people in New Orleans are trying to keep a colored public school from being located on the site of the former New Orleans University, a colored institution which has been removed to the country.

The "Jitney Bus" is bringing new "Jim-Crow" problems. In St. Louis a judge has decided that Negroes cannot be discriminated against. In Jackson and Vicksburg, Miss., all the chauffeurs are to be white and only white people will be allowed to ride.

¶By a vote of 179 to 99 the House of Representatives at Washington refused to consider the "Jim-Crow" street car bill.

¶In Oklahoma they are proposing to amend the present "Jim-Crow" car law so as to meet the supposed objections of the Supreme Court.

¶ Mobs against Negro tenants have been driving out colored people in New Madrid County, Mo., and in Kentucky. Threats have also been made against Negro inhabitants of the suburb of Pine Bluff, Ark., and in Gallup, New Mexico. ¶ It has been practically impossible to secure a jury to try white lynchers at Walhala, S. C.

¶Twelve houses of prostitution containing 50 colored women and run for the benefit of white men, have been closed in Columbia, S. C. No wonder that the Iowa bill against intermarriage is called by the Des Moines, Iowa, Evening Tribune "a bill to legalize white debauchery."

The ranking patrolman in Oakland,

Cal., is a colored man but the chief will not promote him because of his race.

¶A colored girl, Miss Eola Chichester, won a prize offered by the School Art League in New York City. She was assigned to the School of Applied Design for Women which refused her on account of color. The prize was then given to a white classmate who had a lower mark. Superintendent Maxwell finally intervened; the prize was reawarded to Miss Chichester and she will now enter Pratt Institute.

¶ Prof. William Starr Myers, of Princeton, spoke recently at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and went out of his way to state the following falsehoods concerning the Negro: That 98 per cent. of the race were sexually immoral; that even educated Negroes were only "grown up children" and that neither Negroes nor women ought to vote!

COURTS AND CRIME

THE segregation law of Atlanta has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. A new ordinance is threatened.

¶Suits for civil rights in restaurants have been won in New York City, Los Angeles and in Cleveland, Ohio. In the latter cases \$50 each was recovered and in the first case \$200. E. B. Ceruti, of Los Angeles, and Harry Davis, of Cleveland, were two of the successful law-

The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Will Reed, Forest City, Fla., alleged assault on a white woman.

Alexander Hill, Brookville, Miss., murder.

Horace Robinson, Brookville, Miss., murder.

John Richards, Sparr, Fla., giving improper note to a white woman.

W. F. Williams (white), Hot Springs, Ark., murder.

Bob Grayson, alias Dave Jones, El Paso, Texas, murder.

At Clarenden, Ark., two white men for stealing.

An unknown Negro was killed by a policeman in Jacksonville, Fla. He was suspected of stealing.

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THE LATE EX-CONGRESSMAN ROBERT SMALLS

there in 1839. He had little chance for education and in 1851 moved to Charleston where he became a sailor. Eventu-

R OBERT SMALLS who has just died at Beaufort, S. C., was born arbor of Charleston. It was as pilot of the "Planter," a steamer running as a transport in the harbor of Charleston. It was as pilot of



MR. W. F. CROCKETT



GOVERNOR HATFIELD OF WEST VIRGINIA

and his crew of eight colored men seized representative and state senator. He was the boat and ran it to the Union fleet. At first the fleet moved into deep water and prepared to fight, but a white

flag was run up and then it was discovered that the Government had by this feat received a boat which, with its property, was worth at least \$75,000. The thankful government gave Smalls only \$1,500 and Congress, while thanking him, refused to put him on the retired list of the navy. Smalls became a



MR. CROCKETT'S HOME

of Confederate officers. When the offi- member of the State Constitutional Concers were all ashore one night, Smalls vention and afterward held office as state also brigadier-general of the South Carolina militia. Later he was elected to Congress and served as Representative

in the 47th, 48th and 49th Congresses. President McKinley appointed General Smalls collector of the port of Beaufort, where he served until ousted by President Wilson. The venerable hero has for years been re-garded as the leading colored man in South Carolina. He leaves a number of descendants.

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THE LATE MRS. ANNA WADE RICHARDSON

A LEGISLATOR

WILLIAM FRANCIS CROCKETT was born in 1863 at Rural Retreat, Va. He had very little chance to go to school when young, being an orphan at four years of age and self-supporting at ten. At seventeen he was working on a railroad. Then he began to study, starting at the Biblical Institute at Baltimore. He finally entered the law department of Michigan University from which he was graduated in 1888. For a while he practised law at Montgomery, Ala., but in 1901 visited the Hawaiian Islands and settled there. He became in time Deputy County Attorney, served twice as District Judge and recently was elected to represent Maui County in the territorial legislature.

A NEW COLLEGE

O N February 17th the House of Delegates and Senate of West Virginia passed House Bill Number 329. This bill changed the name of the "West

Virginia Colored Institute" to the "West Virginia Collegiate Institute," and made a small appropriation for beginning college work at the institution. This is very significant, being the first time in the last ten years that a state south of the Mason-Dixon's line has appropriated money to initiate college work among colored people. For the most part the southern states have been abolishing college departments or crippling them by inadequate support. The colored people of West Virginia are giving credit for this accomplishment to Governor Henry D. Hatfield. They say that Mr. Hatfield is one of the few public officers who has honestly redeemed his pre-election pledges to the Negro race, both in appointments to office and especially in the establishment of a new Negro col-

A TEACHER

A NNA WADE RICHARDSON was born in Marshallville, Ga., in 1862. At thirteen she entered Atlanta University where she was graduated in 1885, after spending some time in Boston for the purpose of having her eyes treated. Immediately after graduation, she began to build up a private school at her home. Boston people sent money, white people of the town furnished material, and finally the school was placed under the American Missionary Association. For twenty-seven years she was principal of this school which in time came to be supported partially by the Missionary Association and partially by public funds.

Mrs. Richardson married E. S. Richardson in 1886 and had four children. She died last October, highly respected by people of both races in the town which she did so much to uplift.

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¶Dr. C. W. Reeves received a rating of 92.3 per cent. in the examination for medical registration held in Atlanta, Ga., last October. The highest rating given was 93.2 per cent.

The marriage of Capt. William H. York of the Liberian frontier forces to Miss Hazel E. Reed of Oxford, Ohio, is announced.



PURITY OF BLOOD

THREE POINTS Few people realize how deep and persistent is the campaign for racial hatred. Here comes Stephen Phillips writing on "The Black Peril" in the Los Angeles Times with four frightful quatrains of which we quote two.

"Beware, the black blood with the white! The skull of brass, the hands that tear: The lecherous ape, not human quite, The tiger not outgrown his lair!

"And him no shout upraised can fright, Nor lighted bonfire scare away; Restless he crouches day and night, Leaps I and a woman is his prey."

This means that the mixing of white blood with black is a devilish, inhuman combination. The *Quarterly Journal* of the Society of American Indians has a

calm and ready answer.

"No race, as we know races, is an unmixed race. All so-called races are the result of mixtures. Food, soil, locality, climate, available materials, systems of thought, and dominant languages caused the development of the types of humanity when the various geographical areas were more or less isolated. Yet all groups of human beings since remote periods have received the influx of blood from others. The peoples of Europe terming themselves Caucasian are the result of mixtures of prehistoric elements as well as of later races. Europe received and absorbed mixtures of Asiatic and African peoples. Asia received the blood of Africans and Malays. Even the red men of America may have received, even after the crystallization of the race, the influx of Scandinavian, Malayan, and Mongolian blood. * * * *

"Races originally were the outgrowths of widely separated divisions of the primitive human species. Primitive men, wherever they may have been found, were quite alike. Separated for generations in isolated regions and subject to varied climates, methods of procuring food, and caring for themselves, they evolved the specialized types that now distinguish the great races. Within these great racial stocks special divisions or tribes were formed. Intermarriage thus only brings again together long separated strains of blood. The mixing of blood or racial strains is more rapid today than at any time in the history of the world. It is inevitable."

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Need we add to this the fine salutation of Walt Whitman?
"I salute all the inhabitants of the earth. You whoever you are! You daughter or son of England! You of the mighty tribes and empires!

You Russ in Russia!
You dim-descended, black, divine-souled
African, large, fine-headed, noblyformed, superbly-destined, on equal
terms with me!"

THE REAL SOUTH

CURIOUS CON- Everybody's Magazine
TRADICTIONS (New York City), has
gotten into trouble with
two of its subscribers because it called

a Negro "mister."

"It is not difficult to understand how a descendant of the 'Master' class in the South might find it very difficult to address a descendant of the once 'slave' class as 'Mr.' But in a democracy there are no 'Masters' in the old sense. Every man is a 'Mr.' We reserve the word 'Master' for the men and women who have mastered the arts, or sciences, or whatever; and the Negro who won the prize in the Rum Contest would appear to have fairly won the title of 'Master' as we use it now. He competed with nine thousand 'Masters' and 'Mistresses' and won.

"The Negro race has made tremendous progress in fifty years. Its leaders are urging their people to earn the respect of the white race by honest effort, and to use every care against giving offense. Everybody's Magazine would not wittingly hurt their cause or halt their progress by giving offense. Will others of our friends in the South, or elsewhere, be good enough to tell us whether or not we gave real cause for offense when we called a Negro 'Mr.?'"

These subscribers are evidently well represented in Congress by the Hon. Percy E. Quin of Mississippi, who said

recently:

"No Negro is good enough to associate with a white man. The white people in the South will never stand for the Negro to even attempt to stand on any plane of equality. Why not let this amendment of the Senate stand, which forbids any Negroes coming into the United States? Why not be real men and stand up for the purity of the white race all over our country. There is no evil that is so great to the real success of the perpetuity of our institutions as the black blood of this country."

Undoubtedly Quin represents the mass of Southern democracy which curiously combines in thought, intense and vulgar hatred of the Negro and intense and striving hatred of aristocracy. For instance, the Yellow Jacket, of Moravian Falls, N. C., goes into hysterics over an inter-racial marriage in Boston in which

a white Virginian figured.

"What is there in the air, water, soil or Boston surroundings that poisons the minds of Virginians who go there to preach, and transforms them from ambassadors of righteousness to senseless and sensuous skunks? Has social equality and ethical liberty destroyed the pristine patriotism of men in the grand old Bay State, that they will countenance such depraved conduct in their most cultured city as the wedding of a bean-eating, blanch-faced babboon to a sour-smelling Southern Senegambian?

"We believe that, next to slavery and next to the aggravated elevation of a slave race into full political powers without the restraining saving grace of some years of probationary preparation, the most damning infamy ever perpetrated since the dawn of Time has been the devil-hatched, hell-spawned theory of 'social equality' that ever and again erupts like a syphillitic soré on the social surface of some city like Boston, and prompts the simple trusting, unsophisticated black man to believe he is the equal of his white neighbor who through the ages has had the advantages of humanizing, elevating civilization and culture."

In Austin, Texas, there is a curious publication called K. Lamity's Harpoon which has as its motto "minnows are safe; I am out after whales." Yet issue after issue of this radical sheet is filled with abuse of Negroes so vulgar and nasty that it can hardly be quoted. We venture to give three of the milder para-

graphs from one issue.

"Whenever you find a white man—or community—that believes the African is the moral, mental, and social equal of the Anglo-Saxon, that man—or community—is as rotten as the cesspools of hades, and should have lived in the days of Sodom and Gomorrah, when God grew weary of such cattle and roasted hell out of them with heaven-rained fire and brimstone.

"Social equality will inevitably lead to the amalgamation of the pure whiteskinned race, with the flat-nosed, thick-

skulled African.

"People are waking up to the enormous increase of the mule-nigger breed, and you may confidently expect to soon see legislation enacted throughout the South that will hold the dirty, lecherous white daddy of all future mule-nigger brats, legally responsible for the support and education of their poker-dot offspring."

What does this mean? Are the white masses of the South absolutely hopeless in their brutal ignorance of the logic of democracy? No, they are not hopeless, for one who represents them, J. C. Manning, has a most illuminating article in

the New Review.

"Prior to the Civil War, insisting upon it as a right, the slave-holding Democratic party held representation in the general government on a basis of representation which included three-fifths of the slave population. Five slaves of the South, voiced for by Southern masters, were pitted in the basis of representation with three white citizens of the free North. Now the continued aggression of the audacious leadership of the present so-called Democratic party of the South has succeeded in going much farther; it not only finally brought about the usurpation of representation for practically all the colored population, but has, through a system of political intrigue and political repression, accomplished the suffrage elimination of more than half of the white male population of voting age in the far Southern states. Having obtained domination over the masses of the people of the South. by subverting popular government, this regime is now the controlling factor of the general government; while, with this force and fraud acquired power, Southern leadership is now seeking to plant and to foster their prejudices and ideas on the government at Washington and to imprint their conceptions of human justice upon the public sentiment of the country.

"The rest of the country must come to view with amazement the plea coming up from the Democratic party leadership in the Southern states to 'let the South alone' when it beholds, as it must behold, the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, having, in round numbers, an aggregate of 5,000,000 male citizens of voting age, while, in the face of this fact, the entire delegation in Congress from these states was elected in 1910 upon an aggregate of but 950,000 ballots. It is not so much the South that this leadership would have let alone as it is the methods of those responsible for this system. The appeal of 'let the South alone' is rather in their own behalf than in the behalf of the masses of the South who have not now and who have never had republican form of government. Of the 5,000,000 male citizens of voting age in these states of the South, there are, approximately, 3,500,000 white and 1,500,000 colored citizens. The aggregate vote polled by the Democratic party in these states in the last Presidential election is no more than half the white male citizenship and about equal to the number of colored male citizens of voting age.

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. . . . "Not only was the ballot taken from colored citizens of voting age, not only were they, without their consent, put in the attitude of voting their own disfranchisement, but more, the frauds returns, predicated upon the colored male citizenship of voting age, went to override the ballots polled in opposition to disfranchisement and to annul the white majorities voting against these acts. The motive of a general law can best be judged by the results arising from its applica-When the disfranchisement acts went into operation in Alabama there were 232,294 white and 181,471 colored male citizens in the state of voting age, making a total of 413,765. The number of qualified voters in the state at present will not aggregate 150,000. Of the 180,-000 colored male citizens of voting age there are, perhaps, 3,000 permitted to register and to vote."

We regret to say that Mr. Manning finds the climate of the North more suitable to him than that of Alabama. But there is one man, W. O. Saunders, who publishes and edits the Independent of Elizabeth City, N. C., who is talking out remarkably these days. We hope that Mr. Saunders will not have to leave his native state. This is the kind of thing he is saying editorially referring to a poor old colored washerwoman:

"The total of Lizzie's income is \$2.00 to \$2.25 a week. It is true she makes an extra dime now and then; her married daughters some times contribute a mite, and the white folk who know her give her little things once in a while. Three dollars a week would be a magnificent income in the eyes of Lizzie Pool.

"There are scores of Lizzie Pools in this little town and in every little Southern town. Everybody knows them. I have picked this particular Lizzie Pool because I wanted a specific case. I have got something I want to say and I like to have my facts well in hand. I found

this Lizzie Pool at 415 South Road St., Elizabeth City. Anyone else can find her there so long as she pays her rent, and find out the facts about her income.

"I don't know how Lizzie lives on \$2.25 a week; I don't know how she could live on \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week. But I know where the bulk of her wages goe and I am going to paint a picture here just as strong as I can. One dollar and thirty-five cents of her wages every week goes to Old Man X. [Saunders gives the name in full], one of Elizabeth City's respectable landlords, for rent of the dirty, leaky, raggedy, rundown little shack in which Lizzie lives.

"There are dozens of X——s in this town and dozens of them in every other town. But I have singled out this particular specimen for the same reason I

singled out Lizzie Pool.

"The rent of the house in which Lizzie lives was formerly \$5 a month, which is \$3.00 a month more than it is actually worth. But Lizzie being just a Nigger is made to pay by the week, and as very few poor folk discriminate between four weeks and a month, she was made to pay just about \$5.35 a month, or 35 cents more than the agent had any legal or moral right to collect from her.

"I said the rent Lizzie used to pay was \$1.25 a week. That is what she used to pay. For the past two years she has been paying \$1.35 a week. About two years ago Old Man X—— came around and told her the town had put a sanitary tax on the property and she would have to pay him ten cents a week extra. It is not on record that he told her the tax was only \$2 a year and that he was calling upon her to pay him from her scanty income just \$3.20 more a year than the tax demanded.

"We have already seen that the tax is only \$2. One would suppose that Old Man X—paid the \$2 and was content to keep his \$3.20 graft money. But you don't know X— because you don't know landlords. X— is like most landlords. When X— went to give in his taxes to the list takers sitting at the Court House, he did the Ananias act; he failed to give in. He didn't say anything about eleven or more of his shanties, like the one oc-

cupied by Lizzie Pool, that were subject to the Sanitary Tax of \$2 a year each. Not a word! He just kept the facts under his own bald head; concealed any shame he may have felt, behind his old gray whiskers, and kept the whole amount of \$5.20 a year that he had collected from Lizzie and others like her. The facts are a matter of record. Indeed, more than 700 such cases have been exposed in this town by a public accountant who did his work so well that the Board of Aldermen don't want to pay him for his work. The picture is finished. Stand back, you people, and study it closely."

To this we can only append the fine strong word of Ray Stannard Baker on "The Burden of Being White" published

in the American Magazine.

"Oh, my friend, why will men not see that there can be no true civilization while any men in the world are left out of it? and that no race or no nation can go far forward while other races and nations lag behind?

"Let the white person again tread the black person under his heel! (Say! which is trodden under heel, after all?)

"It is not enough that we give the alien nations our learning, our religion, our science. What signify all these things? Are we hurt by giving them? Are we not, on the contrary, the material gainers? No, we must be prepared to go further than that, else we have not learned the fundamental concept of religion.

"It is not the great task of any nation that it shall remain pure, or white, or learned, or that it shall assure to its posterity the possession of land and comfort (though this has been the belief, and the doom, of every aristocracy from the beginning of time). The great task of every advanced race or nation is to bring more love—more light—into the world.

"A stand for racial aristocracy means war, hatred, barren exclusiveness, and finally degeneration and failure: a stand for racial democracy and brotherhood means love in the world, friendliness, sacrifice, new fertility, a wider sweep for faith, and final triumph. Individuals may suffer in the process, nations may

perish, but civilization, the kingdom of humanity, will grow, will become more beautiful."

THE NEW ABOLITION

THE SPINGARN Elizabeth P. Bond writes

MEDAL in the Friends Intelligencer (Pa.) concerning
the last meeting of this Association:

"It is good to know that this Advancement Society has in its membership and officers, men and women who know the past, and realize the cruel odds against which the Negro race is making great strides. When Oswald Garrison Villard, the presiding officer of the evening, announced the principles for which the Society stands, and added: "This association will not swerve!" there sounded from the second generation back of him, the memorable declaration: 'I am in earnest; I will not excuse, I will not equivocate; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard!"

A colored paper, the St. Louis Argus

has this ingenious comment:
"When the future historian looks back
a hundred years or so to write of us and
our times, he will describe us as one of
the most mysterious of human puzzles,
the paradox of races—everlastingly complaining of conditions, yet lifting not a
finger to change them; continually crying for our rights, yet doing nothing to
remedy the wrongs which stand in their

"Here, right under our eyes, is a branch of a great organization, a splendid piece of machinery, well constructed, well engineered, ready and willing to do our work, taking the leading part in the fight for our rights, winning us many friends.

"Our first duty, our great opportunity, is to join at once the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. And those letters mean, The Negro Awake Always Counts for Power."

The editor of the Negro Farmer published at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., has been recently calling for unity among all branches of Negro thought but he answers his own appeal rather discouragingly when asked his reasons for not protesting against wrong and aggression. The Louisville (Ky.) News says:

"Mr. Fisher's editorial stirs the religious soul, but he throws in an irritant when he says, 'I shall shoot no arrows idly into the air.' He may not mean it so but most readers will doubtless take that as a sarcastic reference to that class of our leaders who believe in fighting back with all the instruments of publicity.

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"Taking that view we ask, who will say that Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Douglass, John Brown and others were shooting arrows idly in the air? Who will say that without the arrows shot into the air by these brave anti-slavery advocates that the prayers of our fathers and mothers would have availed?

"Why are those brave souls who protest and agitate against the evils that beset us any less valuable than those who 'cheer and make efficient.'"

It is surprising to note the new tone of certain colored papers. Here comes the Amsterdam News of New York City with a strong editorial, much stronger than it has ever ventured before.

"No close observer of the situation of to-day would deny that we have been, and are yet, traveling along the wrong road.

"We have been advised to take the path of least resistance. We have been told we must gain respect by commercial conquests and peaceful achievements. But has any race or nation gained respect wholly by these methods? Does any one believe that Belgium would have been better off to-day and in the future had she chosen the path of least resistance offered by the Germans? Had she voluntarily opened her pathways to the Teutons must she not have found herself aligned with them against the allies? Once the Germans determined to go through Belgium to get at France there was no third way. As it is, Belgium has chosen the most honorable and, in our opinion, the best in the end. The path of least resistance is not only dishonorable and cowardly, but IT DOES NOT PAY!

"Lynching would cease in short order if the colored people of this country resented the lawless murdering of friends, relatives and compatriots as they should—with the rifle and sword. The ballot will not settle it definitely. Neither will commercial nor intellectual achievement. But mobs do not lynch when they are assured of a come-back. Least of all, would a mob invade a colored district in chase of its victim were there any likelihood of their being received as they should be—with bullets.

"Organize! Organize! Agitate! Agitate! Let the American nation and the entire world know that you are men and will no longer tolerate wrongs and persecutions. Let the world know you are willing to fight for your rights, if only by fighting can you obtain and enjoy them."

The white press on the other hand has been stimulated to some thinking by the bestowal of the Spingarn medal. The New York Evening Post says:

"The bestowal of the first Spingarn medal-an admirably planned prize, to be awarded annually to the colored man or woman who has rendered the greatest service to the colored race-upon Prof. Ernest E. Just, a young scientist and professor in the Howard University Medical School, is certain to attract widespread attention. The committee, of which Mr. Taft is a member, did not find the choice an easy one, there being a number of possibilities from whom to select. That the recipient should be a scientist rather than an inventor, or a leader in farming or banking, will doubtless surprise many people, as it will put to their trumps those who continue to maintain that the Negro is incapable of the higher education. Professor Just, be it noted, is not thirty-one years of age; yet he has already attracted the attention of scientists of repute, no less a one than Prof. Jacques Loeb endorsing his original work in physiology, biology and zoology.

"For the exceptional man of Professor Just's type no one ought, * * * to fence in any field of learning. He should be free to roam where'er he will in our choicest educational pastures. Anything else would spell folly and, what is worse.

a gross national injustice which would merely have to be stated to carry its own condemnation. Whenever opposition to throwing open the doors of our educational institutions is based merely on color prejudice and a belief in another person's alleged inferiority, it must be attacked without a moment's delay. Professor Just and his peers of his race are the most effective answer to those who would go back to the educational Dark Ages."

Other papers concur as, for instance, the Jamestown (N. Y.) Post says:

"It is gratifying to observe that many colored men are winning distinction in various fields of human endeavor."

The Pittsburgh (Pa.) Chronicle Tele-

"Such a recognition of effort as the bestowal of a medal of this character, and the public attention directed to its presentation, must have a fine effect on earnest workers among our citizens of African descent."

The San Francisco (Cal.) Bulletin

"People who are susceptible to race prejudice and racial arrogance would do themselves good by becoming familiar with all such cases as this."

Even the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal has this comment:

"There is a large group of professed friends of the Negro-including some of the Negro educators, themselves-who will not be greatly impressed by this newest activity of this Association. The workers for Negro welfare in this country are divided into those who believe that the Negro's destiny and salvation lie in manual labor and menial service, and those who claim that his potential capabilities are no more restricted than those of his white neighbor. The first group claims to be no less warm in its zeal for the Negro's welfare than the second, but insists upon the recognition of what it believes to be inelastic racial limitations.

"Such declarations are always a little perilous; the recurrence of 'exceptional instances' is constantly putting a strain upon them. The assignment of races to particular classes of endeavor should not be carried forward with too high a hand. In all probability the ethnological arguments of the 'repressive' group of Negro educators could be put to a severe strain if the other group cared to present an array of concrete instances of varied Negro achievement. At all events it will be interesting to watch the cases called into notice by the annual award of the Spingarn medal."

SEGREGATION

THE COLOR Dr. Francis J. Grimke, a well known colored clergyman of the District of Co-

lumbia, has been writing to Mr. "Billy"

Sunday as follows:

"I am a colored clergyman. I see that you are to be in our city on the 18th of this month. Race prejudice is rampant in this city, it flaunts itself everywhere. Has Christianity no message on the subject? Is this evil, this ever-growing evil that is doing almost more than anything else to destroy the self-respect and to increase the burdens of ten millions of colored people in this country, to go unrebuked by the representatives of religion? Will you not say a word on the subject while you are in our midst? I notice that you have been striking with sledge-hammer blows some of the great evils of to-day-intemperance, impurity, gambling, the lust of gold, frivolity, political corruption, the tobacco habit, and the like. Will it be asking too much of you to turn for a moment to this gigan-tic evil, RACE PREJUDICE, and deal it also one of those sledge-hammer blows? It is difficult to get any one to speak on the subject. All seem to be afraid. A short while ago we had a Bible conference in our city. It was attended by some of the most distinguished representatives of Christianity in the country and even from abroad. Foremost among these representatives was the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, of England. I wrote to him; called his attention to the subject; begged him to say a word on it, but he skulked away like a coward without opening his lips. And what is true of him is true of the great majority of the men who fill the white pulpits of the land, North as well as South. They are a set of moral cowards. From what I have read of you, however, I am led to think differently. The Christianity which you possess seems to have sufficient power in it to stiffen up a man's backbone and to take out of him the craven spirit that fears the face of man. I seem to recognize in your ringing words the dauntless spirit of Peter and John and the other apostles as they stood before the Jewish officials and said: "We must obey God rather than man." A clear, strong utterance from you on the subject at the National Capital will greatly help matters."

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We regret to say that Mr. Sunday has not seen fit to answer this letter.

The Norfolk (Va.) Journal & Guide, a colored paper, has these few facts on the results of residential segregation.

The exponents of race segregation claim that the colored people 'want to live among white people because of a desire to associate with them.' That is decidedly untrue. Colored people object to being segregated because it deprives them of municipal protection; the sanitary laws are not enforced with due regard for their health; the money that they pay in taxes is usurped for the benefit of white communities; their streets are unpaved, and, in case of fire, the fire fighting apparatus cannot reach their property. They have inadequate police protection and the streets are not properly lighted. An example: When Huntersville and Barboursville were annexed to Norfolk, the boundaries were extended to cover enough of adjoining white wards so as to preclude forever the possibility of Negro votes ever controlling the revenue from Negro taxable values. Taxes were raised 100 per cent and \$270,000 were appropriated for street improvements in the ward, but not one dollar of it was spent for paving or curbing of a single street in the colored section of the ward."

Another colored paper, the Cincinnati (Ohio) Union, edited by W. P. Dabney, is making a brave fight in Cincinnati against the evident anxiety of the colored people of that city to segregate and "Jim-Crow" themselves. It says:

"Instead of fighting to put competent teachers of our race in the mixed schools a few ambitious and selfish people, backed up by those who did not know and could not know, for they doubtless never had the opportunity of learning, succeeded in establishing the Colored School.

"The white board now finds it a necessity! The Colored people have to all intents and purposes shown that they want segregation.

* * * * *

"They will get it. North or South, whenever the Negro cries for segregation, the hearts of our white fellow-citizens are immediately touched and as immediately responds. We are getting it here in large doses. We understand that the magnificent new hospital has its Colored building, Colored operating room, etc., etc. When the hospital was thrown open for inspection the guide announced the fact in such a burst of eloquence that even the little white children could understand and get that chesty feeling of superiority."

The American Journal of Sociology (Chicago) recently asked 250 representative American citizens as to what true Americanism in the future should stand for. The Journal publishes this reply from W. E. B. Du Bois:

"Americans in the immediate future should place most stress upon the abolition of the color line. Just so long as the majority of men are treated as inhuman, and legitimate objects of commercial exploitation, religious damnation and social ostracism, just so long will democracy be impossible in the world. Without democracy we must have continual attempts at despotism and oliwith the resultant failure through the ignorance of those who attempt to rule their fellow-men without knowing their fellow-men. America, instead of being the land of the free, has made herself a hot-bed of racial prejudice and of despicable propaganda against the majority of men.'

MISCELLANEOUS

"It was Anthony's quietly cherished contention that if he had only been a white man he would have risen high in the world. There is something to support the contention in the record of a slave who earned and bought his freedom, then his mother's freedom, then his wife's, and furthermore earned the confidence and respect of every man, white and black, with whom he came in contact. Distinction he did earn among people of his own race. There were no more influential churchmen, and few more honored Masons, than Anthony Brown. Where is another old man of 87, ex-slave and untutored, of Anthony's generation, who stood as well? Born a generation later, his inborn urge of leadership would have found freer assertion, and he would have mounted higher than porter-yet what's in a title!

"Only a porter, yet a great porter, just as one may be great in any calling which he graces and ennobles as Anthony did."—St. Louis (Mo.) Post Distatch

"The influences which have been potent in forming the character of our native music are, first, Negro melodic idiom, and, second, Celtic and English national songs.

"The Negro influence has been one of propinquity. The African slave is a singer whose life of suffering and hardship has brought to the surface all his powers of expression. A humble member of the National family from the beginning, his songs of pathos and glorification have made a deep impression on every music-loving child, who, on becoming later a trained musician, finds his own speech somewhat akin to that of his old friend."—Arthur Whiting in the Outlook (New York City) on "The American Composer."

"Speaking of a lynched Florida Negro the brief dispatch says 'it is alleged that he had insulted a white woman.' An allegation is sufficient in such a case, of course. The Georgia mob of chivalrous citizens who hanged two colored girls 'alleged' that the victims had insulted a policeman. When pleasure seekers determine to enjoy a lynching bee there is never any lack of allegations."—Cleveland (Ohio) Plaindealer.

"O Lord, chune his lips to de lute of de Gospel and hang his jaws on de Harp of Salvation!"—From an Old Time Sermon.



THE SPINGARN MEDAL



HERE can be no doubt but that the ceremonious offering of a visible prize for real and meritorious accomplishment among colored men and women

is one of the most significant steps taken in recent years to advance the race. At first it seemed as though it might be difficult to find anyone really worthy of such an honor; but when the nominations began to pour in, the Committee were astonished at the number of people who had done real work, even if we confine the matter of accomplishment to the year 1914. There were in all thirty nominations. Among them were Howard Drew, the athlete who holds the world's record for the 100 yard dash: Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, the sculptress; William Monroe Trotter, the intrepid agitator: Heman Perry, the founder of the first Negro old line life insurance company; Major John R. Lynch, the reconstruction statesman and author; William Stanley Braithwaite, the poet and critic: Major R. R. Moton, of Hampton Institute; Isaac Fisher, the essayist of Tuskegee Institute; Cornelia Bowen, the principal of Mt. Meigs School, Ala.; and a couple of dozen others. The selection of Mr. Just out of this deserving number was eminently fitting. His work is real and lasting. His promise is great, his character is modest, unassuming and honest. This is the sort of man that this Association, this race and this country delight to honor. To Joel E. Spingarn we owe a debt not simply for the medal but for the idea on which it was founded; and also for the long and exhaustive excursions through the country to popularize our principles; and for singular devotion to a great cause.

THE WHITE CHRIST



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only be regrettable. Fear, hate and revenge are responsible for the present dreadful war, not Christianity in the least, and those who foster fear, hate and revenge are breeding war and if they are reasonable beings should know what they are doing.

"Because I am 'white' you may imagine all sorts of things about me, nevertheless, I know that I desire this world to be a cleaner, kinder, more reasonable, more just place for us all to live in." (From Pennsylvania)

"'The White Christ' contribution in the March number of THE CRISIS is so absolutely rich in truth, so exquisitely sarcastic in tone, and so altogether appealing, that I wish it might be brought to the attention of the 'white contingent' of Christianity, especially those afflicted with Spiritual pride, and who are so absorbed in THINKING of their own 'beautiful development' that they positively have 'no time' to crystallize their mighty thoughts into deeds, and so they

continue to be muffled in thick veils; veils of ignorance, superstition, imagination, prejudice. It's the most pathetic spectacle of so-called modern civilization to witness on all sides the fruit of prejudice: namely, oppression.

"May GOD speed the day when all will realize that 'the world is one home' and that all the inhabitants of the world are the children of one Divine Father.

"Please accept a word of appreciation for the very effective service accomplished through THE CRISIS."

(From a colored friend)

"Be lenient with the great mass of 'white public' as its religious training has been confined mostly to the Salvation Army type of conversion and not to the steady growth of knowledge of Him that is given us in our churches. The first merely emphasizes the other and increases its good effects. It appeals to all classes of humanity at a certain stage in their development.

"In this day of seeming retrogression we must appeal to such men as you; the editor of the New York Press, and Andrew Carnegie (who believed this world to be 'growing more and more like Heaven') to hold to that ancient belief. Stand firm for the benefit of the poor, benighted brother to whom any lapse of faith on your part will be a blasting of hopes. Time and God will vindicate you." (From New Jersey)

"I don't see how one who has known a single life like that can think of Christianity as a failure. We are all so narrow and selfish and blind; and if there's a force which can lift and transform even one life, surely there's hope for the world.

"I hope you won't mind my saying that. That editorial distresses me so, both for the one who felt and wrote it, and for those whose faith may be dimmed in reading it. The world needs reshaping dreadfully; and there isn't any constructive force but love. And love includes patience—long patience like God's—and faith in human kind. To face mankind as men are, without loving them, enemies and all—it seems to me that would drive one mad. That's why I'm sorry."

(From a Southern white woman)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE



N the fall of 1915 the colored voters of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania are going to be asked for their opinion

on the enfranchisement of women. There were in 1910, 151,341 Negro voters in these states. The number is probably near 200,000 today. It is safe to say that in an electorate of over 5,000,000 these 200,000 votes may easily hold a balance of power and certainly would be a valuable asset. Undoubtedly among Negro voters there is a good deal of indifference and lack of knowledge concerning woman suffrage. We tend to oppose the principle because we do not like the reactionary attitude of most white women toward our problems. We must remember, however, that we are facing a great question of right in which personal hatreds have no place. Every argument for Negro suffrage is an argument for woman's suffrage; every argument for woman suffrage is an argument for Negro suffrage; both are great movements in democracy. There should be on the part of Negroes absolutely no hesitation whenever and whereever responsible human beings are without voice in their government. The man of Negro blood who hesitates to do them justice is false to his race, his ideals and his country.



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FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1914

Report of the Chairman of the Board of Directors

ORGANIZATION

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During the year the Association has doubled its membership, which now numbers 6,000 and has increased its branches and locals throughout the country to fifty. The net paid circulation of its official organ, THE CRISIS, is 31,450, including every state in the Union and ten foreign countries.

The work of the Association is carried on by the Executive Offices and by the Department of Publications and Research. The retrenchment necessitated by the war compelled the Association to give up its Legal Department before it was fairly tested and to delay once more all ambitions for the thorough organization of its work in the field, as well as to reduce the staff of the Executive Offices one-half, which has meant double work for the remainder. Some idea of the work carried by this staff, which now consists of the National Secretary, a bookkeeper and a stenographer, may be inferred from the fact that two years ago, when the membership of the Association was only 300 and there were only three branches, it used the same number on the staff of the Executive Offices. The Department of Publications and Research, which has entire charge of THE CRISIS, has a staff of seven, with over seven hundred agents in the field.

The Association finds itself this year in new and more adequate headquarters. with a reserve fund in bank, and clear of debt except for certain liabilities of THE CRISIS. The latter is now entirely self-supporting except for \$1,300 of the Editor's salary which the Association pays.

PUBLICITY

Publicity is the breath of life to a movement whose main object is to alter public opinion, and we have continued to hammer at the barriers of silence and evasion with which this great national problem is everywhere invested.

AND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

ANNUAL MEETING In addition to the publicity received through its official organ, the Association during the year has made distinct advance in bringing its program before the country in a series of notable meetings. The Annual Meeting in New York, with its stirring

addresses by Mr. Grimké and Mrs. La Folette, and Dr. Du Bois's scholarly paper on farm segregation, the three days' Annual Conference in the Spring in Baltimore, the lecture tours of Mr. Villard and your Chairman in the Middle West, and the meetings held by our branches all over the country, have made a creditable record and brought our work to the attention of the press as never before.

The Conference at Baltimore should be a source of congratulation for many reasons. It is the farthest South we have pushed, and it had the cooperation and support of the colored people to a greater degree than any previous conference; its program contained some of the most distinguished names in the country, including several Southerners. To accomplish this at the very threshold of the South on our sixth birthday was no slight achievement. The Conference, from its opening session in the Lyric Theatre, with an audience numbering 3,000, through the post-Conference meetings in Washington and Memphis, was largely attended by interested crowds who received the gospel of the New Abolitionism with an enthusiasm and seriousness which significantly showed the field for the Association's work in the South. The Association realizes that the success of its Sixth Annual Conference was largely due to the enthusiasm and hard work of the Baltimore Branch. A word should also be said in regard to the post-Conference meeting at Memphis, where the Association presented its ideals as a challenge and a responsibility to the thousands of delegates to the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

When Mr. Villard went West in May to attend the American Newspaper Congress in Lawrence, Kansas, he generously arranged to give part of his time to the Association, paying all his own expenses. In the very limited time at his disposal, and in spite of the pressure of many other engagements, he addressed eight meetings for the Association in the following cities: St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Indianapolis, and Cleveland. These included meetings before local branches, city clubs, chambers of commerce, and other organizations. Mr. Villard secured many new members and made many warm friends for the Association, and his trip undoubtedly was the cause of a more friendly feeling and of a better understanding of the Association among newspaper men.

Your Chairman spent three weeks in January, 1914, in the Middle West, addressing meetings in Detroit, Chicago, Quincy, Kansas City, Topeka, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Cleveland. A full account of this trip appeared in The Crisis of March, 1914. He has just returned from his second annual tour, embracing fourteen cities from Pittsburgh to Omaha and St. Paul, but he leaves it to his successor to comment on the results of this second trip. He hopes, if sufficient leisure permits, to cover the whole country in his successive tours.

The work of the Association has been kept before the country by series of meetings held by our branches everywhere. Mention is made of a few only. The Sumner and Douglass meetings held by the District of Columbia Branch early in the year, together with a well organized series of smaller meetings held throughout the city of Washington, carried the message of the Association to lodges, churches, schools, and to the masses of the people everywhere. Boston was almost equally active and held several notable public meetings to protest against segregation. The Louisville meeting in the summer

launched a campaign against the new segregation ordinance in that city and resulted in the organization of a branch of the Association.

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At many of the branch meetings, notably Cleveland and St. Paul, there were distinguished speakers. Some of the branch meetings were of a distinctive character. Seattle and others gave emancipation celebrations. Tacoma held a Coleridge-Taylor memorial. The Northern California Branch arranged a series of educational meetings with paid lecturers as speakers. The Quincy Branch held a two-days' inter-state conference on the race question which attracted representatives from the surrounding states and many noted speakers. Chicago had a two-days' bazaar, which resulted in raising funds to open permanent head-quarters. These meetings have been held in branches as far south as El Paso, Tex., and Shreveport, La.

The press notices of all these meetings make an encouraging showing. The Conference received a gratifying amount of editorial comment, and many papers carried telegraphic "stories." The Chairman's trip was widely noticed in the press, and the work of the Association has received publicity in the colored press as never before. Nothing gives us more encouragement than the growing sympathy which we find expressed for our work in colored newspapers throughout the country. In the white press a fairer attitude is on the whole discernable, but silence or deliberate falsification of facts continues to be the rule in some sections of the country.

LEGAL WORK

A large number of civil rights cases have been considered during the year. The appeals varied from that of the Negro who complained because a restaurant had discriminated against him by serving him but half a portion of an order, a single frankfurter, to that of the colored citizens of Tampa who requested the aid of the Association in securing for the colored people of that city library privileges in a new Carnegie institution now being constructed.

Largely through our efforts an improved Civil Rights Law was passed by the New York Legislature some time ago, but it still falls short of being the model statute which we had hoped to send forth for imitation to the legislatures of all the states. Partly as a result of the defects of this law, partly because of the lack of witnesses or the failure of complainants to follow up their cases, partly because discrimination in ice cream parlors, pharmacies, and the like, is not clearly included under the statute, partly because of the successful ruses of defendants or the deliberate refusal of justice by prejudiced courts or juries, as well as for other reasons, we have no definite victories to record in the courts of New York during the past year. But elsewhere through our branches, we have been successful in prosecuting a number of civil rights cases.

Baltimore succeeded through its attorneys, Messrs. McGuinn and Hawkins, in acquitting George Howe, a colored man who shot into a mob bombarding his house. This branch also succeeded in defeating the Frick Jim Crow Car Bill, which, had it passed Maryland's legislature, would have been state wide in its operation. The activity of the Baltimore Branch against the segregation ordinance is mentioned elsewhere. Detroit fought fourteen cases of discrimination in theatres and won four. Indianapolis secured the acquittal of two colored boys convicted of carrying concealed weapons. The boys had been arrested as the result of a fight with white boys who had been the aggressors in trying to prevent the colored boys from using a swimming pool lying between the colored and white base ball parks.

The Philadelphia branch took up the case of the bombardment of the home of a colored woman who with her son and two daughters moved into a house in West Philadelphia which she had purchased. A mob of one thousand "neighbors" turned off the street lights and bombarded the house doing great damage. The local branch at once got in touch with the police department and for seven months policemen guarded the house. This cost the city of Philadelphia \$9.00 a day. The courage of this woman in remaining in her house contrasted favorably with that of a colored man whose family suffered the same treatment under almost identical circumstances but who, when pressed by the Association to push his case not only refused to prosecute or to stay on the ground but even declined to rent or sell his house to a colored family so that the Association could make a test case.

Here again, careful investigation indicates defects in the Civil Service laws. The Association's attorney spent some time in investigating the discharge of colored clerks from the Atlanta Post Office. The post-master claimed the men dismissed were inefficient or dishonest. This was not proved by the evidence of white people who testified to the contrary. No redress is possible while the present postmaster remains in office, nor can the race issue be raised with the National Civil Service Commission until its personnel is

changed.

In Philadelphia the Association's first attempt to investigate the discharge of post office employees was baffled by the men themselves who claimed that they feared the attempts they were making to get certain politicians to redress their grievances might be jeopardized by our efforts to help them. Later they applied to the Association and the matter was taken up with the Civil Service Commission with no results except to reveal defects in the civil service act which gives the Commission no jurisdiction to review discharges from the classified service, even if the clearest proofs of race prejudice can be given. The Commission can review discharges only when proof is offered that they were for religious or political reasons. The Civil Service Reform League has been requested to incorporate an amendment in the civil service law to correct this and now has the matter under consideration.

The Association made an unsuccessful effort to secure the repeal of the executive order requiring all candidates for civil service positions to file photographs with their applications. In spite of claims that this order is only for the purpose of identification to prevent impersonation at examinations, it should be remembered that since it has been in force in the Philippines no colored man has received an appointment there.

SEGREGATION Our investigations and our agitation first called the attention of the country to this matter, and we are continuing both our investigations and our protests whenever needed.

The field of the Association's activities against segregation ordinances extends from Birmingham, Alabama, to Harlem, New York, and as far west as St. Louis. The Baltimore branch has won two cases and is now working on a third which it intends to carry to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Louisville branch has engaged one of the best law firms in the city to carry a test case to the United States Supreme Court.

In Richmond, Va., the cases pending were investigated and it was decided inadvisable to cooperate because of local conditions. If the case now pending in Ashland, Va., is appealed to the Supreme Court the attorneys in charge will ask our assistance. Birmingham, Alabama, has announced its intention of passing a segregation ordinance but after listening to protests from the local com-

mittee of colored people acting under our advice it was decided to await the outcome of the Louisville and Baltimore cases.

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The segregation problem was raised in Harlem by the attempt to organize a corporation in *New York* to remove colored people from certain sections in Harlem in order to restore land values there. Plans to cooperate with the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes to meet this condition were abandoned temporarily because of the retrenchment necessitated by the war.

In concluding the legal report it is gratifying to note two victories, one of them that of our President, Mr. Storey, who at the meeting of the American Bar Association succeeded in rescinding the resolution passed two years before, which declared that it was never contemplated that colored people should be admitted. In its place a resolution was passed that application for membership must hereafter state race and sex and such other facts as the executive committee required.

In the case of Private Anderson, of Honolulu (see The Crisis, April, 1914), sentenced by a court martial to five years imprisonment for burglariously entering an officer's home, Mr. Villard personally interviewed the Judge Advocate General in the army and also obtained an opinion on the case from Mr. Storey, John Chipman Gray, and ex-Judge William G. Choate. The case was passed upon by the Judge Advocate General, the Assistant Secretary of War and the Secretary of War, and as a result Anderson was released. This does not undo the wrong but saves him four and one-half years of imprisonment.

Since losing the valued services of Mr. Chapin Brinsmade our legal work has been carried on by Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn and Mr. Charles H. Studin, who have generously donated their services.

We are at present advising with Mr. Storey and Mr. Boston in regard to suits which the Association intends to bring to test the Jim-Crow law in Oklahoma. These suits are being brought as the result of the experience of Mr. W. Scott Brown who accompanied your Chairman on his recent speaking tour in Oklahoma. Shortly after the Supreme Court of the United States refused to declare the law unconstitutional, the Chairman paid a flying visit to Oklahoma, the result of which has been to stiffen the backbone of colored opposition to the Jim-Crow law of the state.

CONGRESS

Undoubtedly the most important work of the year has been the Association's vigilance and activity in opposing hostile legislation in Washington. For over a year it has employed a man in each branch of Congress. These men are experts, newspaper men who are trained especially for legislative work. They keep in the closest touch with New York Headquarters and with the District of Columbia Branch, which acts as a Congressional Committee and takes the lead in the local campaign against hostile bills. As soon as word is received of a discriminating measure the Association immediately wires its branches urging them to influence their representatives in Congress to vote against it. Officers, directors and friends of the Association cooperate personally and when necessary representatives are sent to Washington to appear at Committee hearings. No better example of the way the Association is able to work through its branches can be given than the following letter from Judge Brown of the Appellate Court of Illinois, who is President of the Chicago Branch.

ILLINOIS APPELLATE COURT, CHAMBERS OF MR. JUSTICE BROWN.

MY DEAR DR. BENTLEY:

In compliance with your request over the telephone, I take pleasure in sending you a report of the action taken in behalf of our Branch of the National Association in relation to the legislation concerning Negro aliens and also the legislation which passed the House

CHICAGO, January 15, 1915.

of Representatives concerning intermarriage in the District of Columbia. Immediately upon the passage of the Immigration Act with its prohibition of the admission of Negro aliens, 1 telegraphed for the Branch to the Hon. James Mann, the Hon. Martin Madden, the Hon. Adolph Sabath, in the House of Representatives, protesting against the said amendment and asking them to exert their utmost efforts to defeat it. In these telegrams yourself, Mr. Allinson, Jane Addams, George Packard, Robert McMurdy and Sophonisba Breckenridge personally joined. I also telegraphed for the Branch to the President, requesting him to veto the Immigration Bill if it came to him with the prohibition of Negro aliens. The action of the gentlemen named in the House perhaps shows that the telegrams were not needed, but they could have done no harm, and upon the result, from whatever cause, we may congratulate ourselves. The telegram to the President was courteously acknowledged by his Secretary, who said that it would be brought to his attention.

Immediately upon being informed by the press of the passage of the Anti-intermarriage bill, I telegraphed a long night letter to each of our Senators. Senator Lewis was at Hot Springs, Arkansas, Ill. Senator Sherman was in Washington, and telegrams were addressed to them at these respective points. We referred them to letters written to them in relation to the matter when the bill was before Congress at its last session. We renewed our protest against the legislation, pointing out its injustice, its inexpediency and its futility, and especially indicating both its offensiveness as a studied insult to the Negro race and the great wrong that it did in taking away from some women the protection which the law afforded to others against men who would take advantage of them. We asked each Senator to exert his influence against the passage of this Act by the Senate. I also addressed a telegram in the name of the Branch by myself as its President, to a dear friend of mine, who is a Democratic member of the House from another State, who has a close acquaintrance with many Democratic Senators. I have received from him an acknowledgment of my letter, an expression of sympathy with its object and a promise immediately to use his influence in the line indicated. I am,

Very truly yours, (Signed) E. O. Brown.

Following these methods, the Association was able during the year to act upon a flood of discriminating legislation, including anti-intermarriage bills. Jim Crow bills, a bill making Negroes ineligible for service in the army and navy, and residential segregation bills for the District of Columbia. In addition proposed legislation on the subject of rural credits, the University of the United States, vocational education, the extension of the Interstate Commerce Conmission's jurisdiction to carriers by water, was examined for jokers. Among the bills stifled was the Clark Jim Crow car bill. Such pressure was put on the House to prevent its passage that rather than have it come to a vote it was voted to lay aside District Day, which is the only day on which measures relating to the District of Columbia can be considered. The Clark Bill now goes over until the next Congress where it will probably be defeated most decisively.

Whenever possible these bills have been stifled in committee. When necessary to fight in the open the Association has done so. When the Aswell-Edwards bill proposing to segregate civil service employees throughout the country came before the Civil Service Reform Committee, Mr. Grimké, President of the District of Columbia Branch, appeared before the Committee, and as a result of his arguments the bill was never reported. Our fight on the Smith-Lever Bill was not successful. As soon as this was reported to us by our legislative agent it was discovered that though the colored farmers of the South might or might not receive any of the millions which the bill appropriated for agricultural extension work, no specific provision was made for them. To insure colored farmers a fair share of the moneys appropriated the Association persuaded Senator Jones to introduce an amendment providing for this. A scholarly memorandum supporting this amendment was then prepared by Dr. Du Bois and Mr. Brinsmade and sent to every member of Congress. Both Dr.

Du Bois and Mr. Brinsmade went to Washington to attend the hearings on the bill and to interview Congressmen.

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The fight on this amendment lasted for over two days. A substitute, the Shafroth Amendment, was offered, passed by the Senate and then lost. But raising the issue had its effect. Although the allotment of funds is in the hands of the state legislatures, the final disposition really rests with the Secretary of Agriculture, and if he should permit abuse by the states in allotting these funds, the whole matter can be brought up again and thrashed out in Congress. The fight over this bill brought the whole race issue squarely before Congress and before the country, to the surprise and disgust of the more conservative Democrats who were anxious to keep it in the background and little dreamed of its becoming conspicuous as a part of an agricultural extension measure. The debate on the bill was printed in the Congressional Record. A letter of protest from this Association was read on the floor of the Senate and also appeared in the Record with comments calling attention to the prominent people the Association included in its membership. The name of the Association appeared again and again in the debate and speeches were made by Senators Iones, Clapp. Smith of Michigan, Sherman, Gallinger, Root and others championing our cause. Senator Works of California read a telegram of protest received from our Northern California Branch. Most important of all was the fact that our part in the fight was made clear to the people of the country by the press which gave it the widest publicity.

We cannot close the account of the Association's work of the year in Congress without a mention of its activity in securing the reappointment of Judge Terrell who had been nominated by the President. Senator Vardaman had widely announced his intention of defeating Judge Terrell's confirmation. The Association sent an open letter to Senator Clapp which was published widely in the press to call the attention of the country to the fact that the Southern senators were openly making color a reason for declining to affirm an appointment of the President. Judge Terrell's record on the bench was such that these Senators were unable to find any pretext for this opposition. They were forced to come out in the open. Senator Clapp led the fight to secure favorable action by the Senate on the nomination and was successful.

In order to bring the race issue before the incoming Congress a questionnaire was sent to all candidates asking them in answer to certain questions to
state definitely where they stood. Their answers or their failure to answer were
printed and distributed before election by the Association's branches throughout
the country. Particular attention was paid to the pivotal states where the
colored vote is of strategic importance. Results were also published in The
Crisis, where the Association regularly prints a record of the vote on all legislation discriminating against the Negro. To quote the summary of the results of
this questionnaire given in The Crisis: "Perhaps the most striking thing about
all these answers is the number of people who frankly say they are not informed
on the Negro problem. They simply 'do not know the facts.' This is the
severest condemnation of the past attitude of the colored people and their friends
that could possibly be made. It is the business of people who want wrongs
righted to let the world know just what the wrongs are." Should the Associa-

tion have followed the advice of Mr. Peter Ten Eyck, candidate for representative from the Twenty-eighth District of New York, one does not like to contemplate what might have been the position of the colored people in the District of Columbia and ultimately in the whole country. Mr. Ten Eyck in answer to our questionnaire wrote, "It is my advice to you to stop agitating the things which you have outlined in your letter until such time that you find that the wild rumors are liable to become a reality."

We may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, despite the overwhelming Southern majority in Congress, not a single bill which was directly on its face intended to humiliate or repress colored men and women, was permitted to pass during the year 1914. We do not ask that all the credit for this achievement be given to our Association, but if this Association had never existed it is almost certain that some or all of these bills would have passed. The District of Columbia Branch has been on the firing line in all this work; circumstances have given it the post of labor and of danger and therefore the post of honor; and all men owe it a debt of gratitude for what it has accomplished.

Before concluding it would be unjust not to express a word of appreciation for the work which has been rendered by our two heads of departments. The Crisis is our chief organ of publicity; it is also one of the standard bearers of the world's ideals. This position it owes to the talent and energy of its editor who, at his own suggestion, now receives the cooperation and advice of a special committee of the Board in the carrying on of his work. Our Secretary has devoted an extraordinary energy and resource to our many problems, and has performed the tasks of three ordinary men. Without her indefatigable loyalty, it would have been impossible to carry on our work with so little help. It is only fair to add that the clerks in both offices have proved that colored men and women can work as efficiently as white men and women, and with at least equal loyalty to their daily tasks.

CONCLUSION

The record of the American people on the race question now stands as follows. During the year just passed some seventy colored men and women were lynched without trial and in many cases with barbaric torture. Segregation ordinances restricting the property rights of colored people have passed or are pending in some of our largest cities, including Baltimore, Richmond, Louisville, and St. Louis. Legislation opposed to the interests of colored people has been introduced into the legislature of nearly every state in the Union during the last few years. Farm segregation is being agitated in the South. It is not unfair to say that at this very moment an orgy of Negro-baiting is going on in Congress. Out of eleven million people, including 1,600,000 men of voting age who can read and write, only 550,000 were permitted to vote at the last Presidential election. The Supreme Court of the United States has virtually declared that the colored man has no civil rights, and has refused redress on one ground or another to every case that has come before it. All this does not take account

(Continued on page 296)

"HE 'ROSE"

A Negro Folk Song for Eastertide (Hampton Collection)

> Transcribed for the CRISIS by J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON.

Dust! Dust and ashes Fly over on my grave: They crucified my Saviour And nailed Him to the Cross!

Nor death's cold iron band! He 'rose! He 'rose, He 'rose from the dead, And the Lord shall bear The cold grave couldn't hold Him, My spirit home!



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(Continued from page 293)

of the daily humiliations, persecutions, and wrongs to which the American Negro is subjected, or the political, economic and social opportunities which are withheld from him. Certainly our labors have but begun. Certainly we should dedicate ourselves anew to the great task of securing justice to all who have the right to share the opportunities of our democracy. Our task like that of the old Abolitionists, is to "alter public opinion." But whereas they fought for men whom they considered essentially unlike themselves, we fight side by side with men whom we know to be essentially like ourselves. Their weapon was the old idealism, ours not only the old idealism but the new science. We know, as they did not know, that race is but historical opportunity, and nationality but funded ideals. To make the world realize these truths we must use every possible effort and endure every possible sacrifice.

"For freedom sternly says: I shun No strife or pang beneath the sun When human rights are staked and won."

I. E. SPINGARN,

February 12, 1915

Chairman, Board of Directors.

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Report of the Director of Publications and Research

The business of THE CRISIS as certified to by F. J. Batchelder, C. P. A., our auditor, is as follows:

THE CRISIS REVENUE AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT, 1914 BALANCE SHEET

Publishing	\$10,089.82 4,006.48 2,559.30 1,781.25 1,682.65 957.01 98.49	Cash	\$115.40 1,389.82 2,048.27 322.64 25.00 1,871.32
Net profit	\$21,175.00 949.00	Accounts payable:	\$5,772.45
REVENUE	\$22,124.00	Harvey Press N. A. A. C. P Loans payable: W. E. B. Du Bois	\$126.25 9.30
Sales of copies	\$12,794.31 5,608.65	Mrs. Hoggan	966.85 484.05
Advertising Profit on books	2,703.89 1,017.95	Net worth	\$1,586.45 4,186.00
	\$22,124.00		\$5,772.45

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Men Don Lite Prof Since the first issue of The Crisis, in November, 1910, to January 1st, 1915, the total income has been \$58,766.40. If we take the first four full years of the magazine (November, 1910-November, 1914), we have these figures:

magazine (Hovember, 1210	Trovellibel, a	Jit, we have these lightes.	
First year		Fourth year	21,315.36
Second year	12,291.83		
Third year	17,006.64	Or a total income of	\$55,836.77
This income has been	expended as	follows:	
For printing	\$30,788.18	For general expenses, in-	
For salaries	9.513.71	cluding rent, supplies,	
For capital		books, etc.	7,059.96
For postage	4 741 95		

Since publication The Crisis has distributed one million one hundred and fifty thousand magazines of which considerably over 1,000,000 copies was net paid circulation. The average net paid circulation for the year 1914 has been 31,450 copies monthly which is a circulation more than twice as large as any other Negro publication. We circulate in every state and territory, in Mexico, South America, Hawaii and the West Indies and in Europe, Asia, Africa and the South Seas.

Usually a magazine is allowed five years to become self-supporting. We had hoped to accomplish this in four years but the war delayed us. To-day The Crisis is paying all its expenses of over \$20,000 except \$1,300 of the editor's salary which the Association will carry for another year. On January 1st, 1916, The Crisis will be financially independent unless the war and its aftermath change the present probabilities.

The present organization of The Crisis includes five offices covering 1,300 feet of floor space on the fifth floor of 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City; the force consists of an editor, a business manager, a shipping clerk, a bookkeeper, and three other clerks, and stenographers; we have over seven hundred regular agents in the field.

W. E. B. Du Bois, lanuary 1, 1915

Director of Publications and Research.

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Report of the Treasurer

The accounts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as certified by F. J. Batchelder, C. P. A., our auditor, are as follows:

N. A. A. C. P.	REVENUE A	ND EXPENSE ACCOUNT, 1914	
EXPENSES		BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER	31, 1914
Salaries	\$7,395.34	ASSETS	
General expenses	2,606.15	Cash in banks	\$1,374.04
Printing	1,613.53	Petty cash fund	25.00
Traveling expense	879.51	Due from "Crisis"	9.30
Postage	868.88	Pins on hand	130.92
Depreciation on furniture	96.80	Furniture and fixtures	876.65
Net gain	\$13,460.16 570.54		\$2,415.91
aree gam		LIABILITIES	
	\$14,030.70	Special funds reserved: Maclean Memorial	302.90
REVENUE	\$5,661.19	Fed. Aid Educational	195.63
Memberships	8,334.81	red. Aid Educational	195.03
Donations		•	#400 F2
Literature sold	18.70	37	\$498.53
Profit on pins sold	16.00	Net worth	1,917.38
	\$14,030.70		\$2,415.91

It is gratifying to note that in spite of the decrease in our income brought about by the war, the Association can report itself out of debt with a substantial balance in bank. Its net gain for the year is almost \$600 and its net worth over \$1,900.

An analysis of the membership list shows that eighty per cent. are colored and twenty per cent. white. The membership falls into the following classes—75 per cent., \$1.00; 10 per cent., \$2.00; ½ per cent., \$3.00; ½ per cent., \$4.00

14 per cent., \$5.00 and up.

Since fifty cents of each membership fee is returned to branches the balance of the one-dollar fees barely covers the clerical work involved in making the necessary membership records and the cost of literature sent out. As every member paying two dollars and more gets The Crisis, there is also no gain to the Association on memberships of two dollars. In other words, the Association is supported by 15 per cent. of its membership. This includes nine contributors of \$100 each, one of \$300, three of \$500 each, three of \$1,000 each, and two of \$2,000 each; also contributions from branches, the most generous of which came from the District of Columbia Branch which gave almost \$2,000 during 1914. Boston and Baltimore have also sent generous donations to the work and other branches contributing were Indianapolis, Kansas City, Northern California and Seattle.

The preceding financial report by a certified public accountant shows expense and revenue only. It is interesting to note in this connection that since the Association's books were opened in May, 1911, its income has been as follows, that for 1914 being within about \$300 of that of the previous year despite the financial depression:

February 12, 1915

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Treasurer.

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Report of the Secretary

The Secretary has charge of the executive offices of the Association. In addition to the work of securing new members and subscribers to The Crisis, the work of the Secretary includes the organization and supervision of branches and other field work such as arranging speaking tours and supplying lecturers for miscellaneous meetings; work with Congress; some legal work; press work; correspondence; and the financial work of the Association.

Membership and branches have increased as follows:

1912	1913	1914	1915
Membership 329	1,100	3,000	6,000
Branches and Locals 3	10	24	50

This increase in membership has been secured by appeals to individuals, by sending out circular letters, by public meetings, through branches and The Crisis, and especially as a result of the lecture tours of Mr. Villard and the Chairman, who not only gave their services to the Association but also paid all their own expenses. The total number joining as a result of the Chairman's second western trip ending in January, 1915, probably will reach 1,000. The success of this trip was largely due to Mrs. Butler R. Wilson and Miss Kathryn M. Johnson who preceded him addressing a series of advance meetings in the cities in which he was to speak and getting in touch with the communities in general.

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BOARD

In this arduous work Mrs. Wilson generously gave her services to the Association and as a tribute to the success of the work she is doing for the cause in New England, a committee of interested women in Boston paid one-half of her expenses. In addition to this western trip which included Pittsburgh, Columbus, Springfield, Dayton, Cincinnati and Toledo, Mrs. Wilson also addressed meetings for the Association in East Orange and spoke in New York at the Friends School, at a parlor meeting at the home of Mrs. Villard, before the Forum of the Church of the Messiah and at the Fifth Avenue Suffrage Shop, everywhere receiving a sympathetic and often enthusiastic response and arousing great interest in the work of the Association.

As an experiment early in the year almost 3,000 people were circularized for membership with an expenditure of a little over \$200 and a return of \$224. Seventy new members were added and fifty subscribers to THE CRISIS secured. Of the former about forty are members paying five dollars or more.

CONGRESS AND
The Association's work in Congress and its legal work are reported upon in detail by the Chairman. The Secretary's office acts as a clearing house for all information from Congress in regard to legislation affecting colored people. From here news of it is sent to branches and friends all over the country. Since the Legal Department has been given up, much of the prelimniary interviewing and correspondence in legal cases falls on this office. During the year a new form of constitution and by-laws for the Association's branches was made and submitted for approval.

PRESS Although this work necessarily has been somewhat spasmodic, the results have been encouraging for the effort and time put upon it. In addition to the publicity given the annual conference when the work was done by an expert, the press has given considerable space to the Association's work for the Jones Amendment to the Smith-Lever Bill, the fight for Judge Terrell's reappointment, the western trips of Mr. Villard and our Chairman, and to some of our larger meetings mentioned elsewhere. A few articles have been published in periodicals.

Almost 30,000 pieces of first class mail were sent out during 1914 from the executive offices. At least 10,000 of these were individual letters, the balance being form letters. The second class mail totalled over 43,000 pieces. Since the retrenchment necessitated by the war forced the executive offices to dispense with its mailing clerk, this work now falls on the bookkeeper who also has entire charge of the membership list of 6,000 and of the filing of correspondence. All the stenographic work-is carried on one stenographer.

Without the active assistance of our Treasurer, the Association would soon be bankrupt. It has never had an active budget committee. The actual work of this committee falls on the Secretary's office where each month hundreds of letters are sent to members, delinquents and possible contributors. It is this persistent effort which has enabled the Association to close this year of financial depression out of debt and with a balance in bank.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Association is fortunate in having a Board which is ready and willing to give personal and active assistance to the work. The work of Miss Ovington and Mr. Kennaday on The Crisis Committee, of Dr. Holmes and Mr. Russell in making addresses for the Association, of Dr. Bentley and Mrs. Kelley in giving advice, and of various others, has made it easier for the executive officers of the Association to get results.

BRANCHES

[Starred branches are mentioned also in the reports of the Chairman and Treasurer.]

Many of these branches have been chartered too recently to make it possible for them to submit anything but a brief routine report which has not been printed. The organization and supervision of branches is at present very unsatisfactory since it has to be done largely through correspondence. The Association should have at least two agents in the field constantly. Almost all the branches are doing effective work. The District of Columbia Branch leads with a membership of 900, Boston has 567, Baltimore runs a close second with 556 and among the younger branches Cleveland has the largest number, 250. A brief summary of their more important work follows, all of which has been described more fully from time to time in The CRISIS.

ALTON, ILL.

Dr. George L. SamuelsPresident	Mrs. Anna Gillis (1200 Wise St.)Secretary
Mr. H. B. CoatsVice President	Mr. Joel RussellTreasurer

Executive Committee

Mr. H. B. Coats, Chairman	Mr. H. B. Hunter
Miss H. I. Robinson	Mrs. Mary Samuels
Mr. Joseph Craig	Mrs. I. H. Kelley

* BALTIMORE, MD.

Dr. F. N. CardozoPresident	Miss Margaret A. Flagg (1405 Arglye Ave.)
Mr. George B. MurphyVice President	Cor. Secretary
	Dr. H. S. McCardTreasurer
Miss Lucy D. Slowe Asst. Rec. Secretary	Mr. W. Ashbie HawkinsAttorney

Executive Committee

Mr.	George	B. Murp	hv.	Chai	irman	Mr. E. B.	Taylor
		W. Holme				Mr. Julius	C. Johnson
Mr.	W. T.	McGuinn				Rev. L. Z.	Johnson
Dr.	A. O.					Rev. J. R.	L. Diggs
			10	237	A - 1. L	TT- 1-1-	

Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins

The success of the Conference was largely due to this branch which contributed five hundred dollars in cash toward its expense and secured over two hundred new members during its three days' session. The branch has held thirty-three meetings during the year including several mass meetings and has given two concerts for the benefit of the Association. Its legal work, which has been brilliant, is described in the Chairman's report.

*BOSTON, MASS.

Mr.	Francis J.	GarrisonPresident	Mr.	Butler	R.	Wilson	(34	School	Street)
Mr.	George G.	BradfordTreasurer							Secretary

Executive Committee

Mr. Joseph P. Loud, Chairman	Dr. Horace G. Bumstead
Miss Maria L. Baldwin	Miss Adeléne Moffat
Mrs. May H. Loud	Rev. Samuel A. Brown

Boston has held one hundred and twenty-one meetings including eighty-one parlor meetings, church and club meetings, reaching in this way eight thousand people. Early in the year the branch gave a reception at the Twentieth Century Club for the national officers of the Association. Through the efforts of Mrs. Butler R. Wilson, fifty-eight colored women arranged a series of musicales and dances which netted sixty dollars for the Association. Under the direction of Mrs. Francis J. Garrison, a committee of twelve ladies gave a concert at the home of the Misses Mason and sent the proceeds, \$278, to the Association. At this concert the Caroline Belcher Quartette volunteered their services.

The victory of the branch in persuading the Boston School Committee to withdraw from the schools a book entitled "Forty Best Songs," which contained words objectionable to colored people, was more far reaching than perhaps was realized at the time. This book was published by one of the leading text book companies of America. As soon as Southern representatives of this publishing house heard of the agitation in Boston, they wired for the whole edition, saying that they would have an increased market for the books in the South, because of the advertisement given them in Boston. They were advised that the firm had decided to withdraw the entire edition.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

Mr. John E. BrentPresident	Miss Amelia G. Anderson (106 Walnut St.) Secretary
Rev. Philip L. FrickVice President	Mr. Cornelius FordTreasurer

*CALIFORNIA, NORTHERN

Mr. Walter A. ButlerPresident	Miss Eva B. Jones (1929 Linden St., Oakland) Secretary
Rev. David R. WallaceVice President	Mrs. H. E. De HartTreasurer

Directors

Rev. David R. Wallace, Chairman	Mr. B. O. Johnson
Mrs. Lutie Gilbert	Mrs. Elizabeth Brown
Mrs. T. Tighman	Miss Charlotte A. Whitney
Mr. William N. Ricks	Mrs. M. E. Terrell

This branch has been successful in having discriminating signs removed from cheap restaurants and in getting favorable notice in the local press for the work of the Association including some editorial comment.

*CHICAGO, ILL.

Judge E. O. BrownPresident	Mr. T. W. Allinson (701 West 14th Place)
Mr. S. Laing WilliamsVice President Mr. T. W. AllinsonTreasurer	Mr. George R. ArthurAsst. Secretary

Directors

Miss Jane Addams	Mr. Charles R. Crane	Mr. Robert McMurdy
Dr. C. E. Bentley	Dr. George C. Hall	Mr. George Packard
Mrs. Emmons Blaine	Mr. Charles T. Hallinan	Mr. Julius Rosenwald
Miss S. P. Breckenridge	Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones	Miss Garnetta Tibbs

Chicago has held several large and successful meetings culminating in a two days' summer tent festival which netted the branch over \$400 which is to be used as the nucleus of a fund for the establishment of permanent headquarters.

* CLEVELAND, O.

Mr. Roddy K. MoonPresident	
	Mr. C. F. HunnicuttTreasurer
Executive	Committee
Rev. Elam A. White Rev. H. C. Bailey Mn Alexander H. Martin	Mr. Theodore B. Green Mr. Chas. W. Chesnutt Judge T. M. Kennedy

The Cleveland Branch has checked indiscriminate arrests of colored men which were caused by a rumor that a Negro had attacked a patrolman and has taken the initiative in getting two colored people on the General Welfare Council of the city. In this it had the cooperation of several other organizations.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, N. Y.

Mr. H. B. MurrayPresident	Mr. G. J. Rich (Cornell University)
Mr. B. H. StashVice President	Con Connection
Mr. R. B. P. WallerSecretary	Mr. J. M. BallouTreasurer

*DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. William OsbyPresident	Miss Addie ButlerRec. Secretary
Dr. A. H. JohnsonVice President Rev. R. W. Bagnall (329 Antoine Street)	Mr. Walter JohnsonTreasurer
	Mr. Francis H. WarrenAttorney

In February, this branch smothered an anti-intermarriage bill in the Michigan Legislature. It has fought fourteen civil rights cases and won four. It has secured the appointment of two colored detectives to the police force.

*DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Archibald H. GrimkéPresident	Mr. W. B. Hartgrove (1428 Florida Avenue,
Miss Charlotte E. HunterVice President Mr. Garnet C. WilkinsonTreasurer	N. W.)Secretary
Executive	Committee

Miss Charlotte E. Hunter, Chairman	
Mr. L. M. Hershaw	Rev. A. C. Garner
Mr. Neval H. Thomas	Prof. George W. Cook

The field of the work of this branch is both local and national in scope. The results of its local work may be summarized as follows:

A petition of protest to the White House because colored people were not represented

in local civic welfare organizations.

The reinstatement of three men discharged as a result of abolishing the U Street Station

The reinstatement of three men discharged as a result of about the U Street Station of the Post Office.

The reinstatement as watchman of a government employee who, after being reduced

from the grade of clerk to laborer had been dismissed.

Successful agitation to compel the commencement of work on the new colored high school.

Checking of discrimination in the restaurant of one of the large department stores.

Attempting to secure positions for colored boys and girls in the District of Columbia public library.

Securing assurances from the Board of Education that moving pictures on educational topics for the public schools should be enjoyed by colored pupils.

The work of the branch in Congress, which is of national significance, has been reported

upon by the Chairman.

The Branch has several important standing committees: The Committee of Fifty and More, Prof. George Cook, Chairman, which, during the year raised almost \$2,000 for the Association; the Drama Committee, Mrs. Laura B. Glenn, Chairman, which is studying ways and means of utilizing the stage in the service of the cause; the Juvenile Committee, Mrs. Carrie W. Clifford, Chairman, which has the problem of organizing a Juvenile department for the National Association and the Committee on Songs, Miss Harriet Shadd, Chairman, which is making up a collection of songs to be used at public meetings by our branches everywhere. The songs include a number of original compositions.

EAST ORANGE, N. J.

Dr. George WoodsonPresident	Mr. Fred BufordAsst. Secretary
Mr. J. W. HudspethVice President	
Mr. W. P. Burrell (32 Jones St.) Secretary	Mrs. H. C. CrawfordChaplain

	Executive Committee	
Dr. George Woodson	Mr. C. F. Tinsley	Mr. W. R. Lomax
Mr. J. W. Hudspeth	Dr. W. G. Alexander	Mr. J. B. Selden
Mr. W. P. Burrell	Mr. W. H. Easley	Rev. G. W. Krygar
Mrs. Lizzie Sears	Mrs. Lottie Cooper	Rev. J. E. Churchman

* EL PASO, TEX.							
Mr. Jasper B. WilliamsPresident	Mr. Burlie A. Mabrey (1201 East 2nd Street)	į					

Mr. Jasper B. Williams.......President Prof. William Coleman.....Treasurer Mr. Burlie A. Mabrey (1201 East 2nd Street) Secretary

Executive Commi	ittee
Mr. Jasper B. Williams, Chairman	Dr. L. A. Nixon
Mr. S. M. Collins	Dr. J. H. Donnell
Mr. L. W. Washington	Mr. John Slater

HARRISBURG, PA.

Mr.	L.	W.	Washington					Mr. Jo
			1	Mг.	John	F.	Kelley	

Dr.	C. I	L. Ca	rter		President	Dr.	Stephen	J.	Lewis	(609	Boas	
Mr.	Fra	nk N	. Robinson	Vice	President	Mr	Tames	Ani	er			Secretary

	Executive Committee	
Mr. Robert J. Nelson	Mr. A. Denee Bibb	Mr. Frank L. Jefferson
Dr. C. L. Carter	Miss Clara E. Reed	Mr. C. S. Jackson
Mr. James M. Auter	Mr. W. Justin Carter	Mr. F. N. Robinson
Dr. Stephen J. Lewis	Rev. E. L. Cunningham	Dr. C. H. Crampton

Rev. U. G. Leeper

In spite of the defects in the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Act, Harrisburg has won a number of civil rights cases. In the Davenport Lunch case, brought by Dr. Carter, the President of the branch, it was agreed to settle when the defendant offered to go before the Board of Aldermen and admit his violation of the law and to put himself on record as opening his place with equal accommodations for all. He paid all costs in the case.

Even more encouraging was the branch's victory over a local moving picture theatre. According to witnesses, the proprietor of this theatre had the following notice posted at the ticket office: "The balcony of this theatre is provided for our colored patrons. If you do not wish to sit in the balcony, do not purchase tickets, as they will not be honored in any other section of the theatre." In giving his decision in the case, Judge McCarrell ruled that to reserve a certain section of a public amusement house for the special accommodation of the white race and to deprive colored patrons of the right to occupy that particular section, is a discrimination against the colored race and a violation of the criminal statute and punishable by a fine. This decision is the first of its kind by a Dauphin County Court judge.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, D. C.

Mr. R. McCants Andrews.......President
Miss M. Frances Gunner...Vice President
Mr. George E. Hall (326 T Street, N. W.)
Cor. Secretary
Mr. W. D. Delainey......Treasurer

Executive Committee

Miss Eulalia Lane, Chairman Mr. W. A. Pollard Mr. W. E. Ricks Mr. L. G. Koger Mr. M. B. McAden Mr. C. C. Stuart

Mr. E. C. Terry

This was the first college chapter chartered. From the beginning it has set a high standard for other chapters. As a student organization, it has devoted itself especially to the study of the race question and to spreading the propaganda of the N. A. A. C. P. by sending speakers to other colleges, by correspondence, and by distributing literature broadcast. Whenever practicable it has cooperated with the District of Columbia Branch. The dispatch with which briefs protesting against the Afro-Exclusion amendment to the Immigration Bill were distributed to members of Congress was largely due to the energy of the students of the Howard Chapter. It has offered a prize for the best essay on "What Should be the Objects of a College Chapter of the N. A. A. C. P." The prize is an engraving of Garrison framed, the gift of Mrs. Henry Villard.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

The Indianapolis Branch has increased its membership to 200. It has held a series of meetings and in the Spring gave a children's festival. In its legal work it won an important victory described in the report of the Chairman.

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS AND MISSOURI

Mr. J. Dallas Bowser......President
Dr. Howard V. Smith.....Vice President
Mrs. Myrtle F. Todd.....Treasurer
Mr. Woody E. Jacobs.....Secretary

Executive Committee

Mr. H. O. Cook Miss Anna Jones Mr. W. C. Hueston Mr. I. F. Bradley Mr. G. A. Gregg

Kansas City was successful in its agitation against segregation and Jim Crow street cars. It also protested against the refusal of a large factory in Kansas City to admit colored welfare workers and has received assurances that in the future no such discrimination will be made. It succeeded in persuading the local Park Commissioners to reverse their decision in regard to Garrison Square which had been originally intended for Negroes, but which the Park Commissioners had decided to give to Italians before the branch protested. It successfully contested state bills against intermarriage.

THE CRISIS

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Dr. Charles Edward Locke......President Mr. E. Burton Ceruti (501 Thorpe Building) Secretary Dr. J. A. Somerville......1st Vice President
Hon. Reynold E. Blight...2nd Vice President
Mrs. Beatrice S. Thompson...Asst. Secretary
Mrs. Morgan E. Robinson.....Treasurer

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The most important work accomplished by this branch was its successful protest against color discrimination in the Y. M. C. A. Cooperating with the branch in this matter were the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, the Baptist Ministers Union and many prominent men and women.

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FEBRUARY 12, 1915.

MARY CHILDS NERNEY, Secretary.

SPINGARN MEDAL

The first Spingarn Medal was awarded at the annual meeting on February 12, 1915, at Ethical Culture Hall, New York City, by Governor Whitman, to Prof. Ernest Everett Just, head of the Department of Physiology in Howard University Medical School. Prof. Just was chosen from a long list of candidates in many fields including education, invention, literature, medicine, political life, business and social work. He was recommended by men of the highest standing in both races for his recent research work and for the work he has done in raising the standards of medical education for his own race. The committee making the award were: Bishop John Hurst, Chairman; ex-President William Howard Taft, Mr. John Hope, Dr. James H. Dillard, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard.

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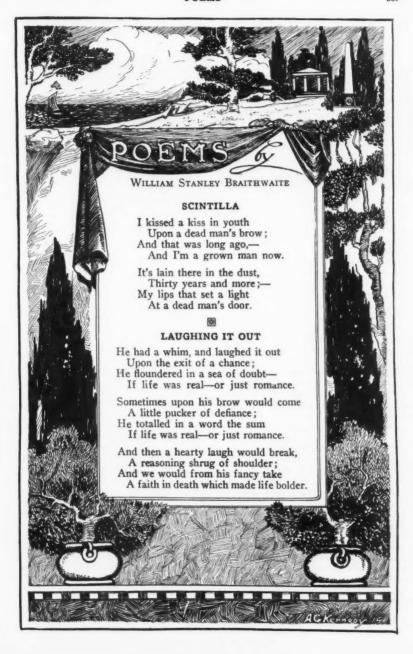
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POEMS



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The Immediate Program of the American Negro

By W. E. B. DUBOIS

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THE immediate program of the American Negro means nothing unless it is mediate to his great ideal and the ultimate ends of his development. We need not waste time by seeking to deceive our enemies into thinking that we are going to be content with a half loaf, or by being willing to lull our friends into a false sense of our indifference and present satisfaction.

The American Negro demands equality—political equality, industrial equality and social equality; and he is never going to rest satisfied with anything less. He demands this in no spirit of braggadocio and with no obsequious envy of others, but as an absolute measure of self-defense and the only one that will assure to the darker races their ultimate survival on earth.

Only in a demand and a persistent demand for essential equality in the modern realm of human culture can any people show a real pride of race and a decent self-respect. For any group, nation or race to admit for a moment the present monstrous demand of the white race to be the inheritors of the earth, the arbiters of mankind and the sole owners of a heritage of culture which they did not create, nor even improve to any greater extent than the other great division of men-to admit such pretense for a moment is for the race to write itself down immediately as indisputably inferior in judgment, knowledge and common sense.

The equality in political, industrial and social life which modern men must



have in order to live, is not to be confounded with sameness. On the contrary, in our case, it is rather insistence upon the right of diversity;—upon the right of a human being to be a man even if he does not wear the same cut of vest, the same curl of hair or the same color of skin. Human equality does not even entail, as is sometimes said, absolute equality of opportunity; for certainly the natural inequalities of inherent genius and varying gift make this a dubious phase. But there is a more and more clearly recognized minimum of opportunity and maximum of freedom to be, to move and to think, which the modern world denies to no being which it recognizes as a real man.

These involve both negative and positive sides. They call for freedom on the one hand and power on the other. The Negro must have political freedom; taxation without representation is tyranny. American Negroes of to-day are ruled by tyrants who take what they please in taxes and give what they please in law and administration, in justice and in injustice; and the great mass of black people must stand helpless and voiceless before a condition which has time and time again caused other peoples to fight and die.

The Negro must have industrial freedom. Between the peonage of the rural Sout ists unio ploit hard Ame cond In being the

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South, the oppression of shrewd capitalists and the jealousy of certain trade unions, the Negro laborer is the most exploited class in the country, giving more hard toil for less money than any other American, and have less voice in the conditions of his labor.

In social intercourse every effort is being made to-day from the President of the United States and the so-called Church of Christ down to saloons and boot-blacks to segregate, strangle and spiritually starve Negroes so as to give them the least possible chance to know

and share civilization.

These shackles must go. But that is but the beginning. The Negro must have power; the power of men, the right to do, to know, to feel and to express that knowledge, action and spiritual gift. He must not simply be free from the political tyranny of white folk, he must have the right to vote and to rule over the citizens, white and black, to the extent of his proven foresight and ability. He must have a voice in the new industrial democracy which is building and the power to see to it that his children are not in the next generation trained to be the mudsills of society. He must have the right to social intercourse with his fellows. There was a time in the atomic individualistic group when "social intercourse" meant merely calls and tea-parties; to-day social intercourse means theatres, lectures, organizations, churches, clubs, excursions, travel, hotels,-it means in short Life; to bar a group from such methods of thinking, living and doing is to bar them from the world and bid them create a new world; -a task to which no single group is today equal; it is to crucify them and taunt them with not being able to live.

What now are the practical steps which must be taken to accomplish these

ends?

First of all before taking steps the wise man knows the object and end of his journey. There are those who would advise the black man to pay little or no attention to where he is going so long as he keeps moving. They assume that God or his vice-gerent the White Man will attend to the steering. This is arrant nonsense. The feet of those that

aimlessly wander land as often in hell as in heaven. Conscious self-realization and self-direction is the watchword of modern man, and the first article in the program of any group that will survive must be the great aim, equality and

power among men.

The practical steps to this are clear. First we must fight obstructions; by continual and increasing effort we must first make American courts either build up a body of decisions which will protect the plain legal rights of American citizens or else make them tear down the civil and political rights of all citizens in order to oppress a few. Either result will bring justice in the end. It is lots of fun and most ingenious just now for courts to twist law so as to say I shall not live here or vote there, or marry the woman who wishes to marry me. But when to-morrow these decisions throttle all freedom and overthrow the foundation of democracy and decency, there is going to be some judicial house cleaning.

We must secondly seek in legislature and congress remedial legislation; national aid to public school education, the removal of all legal discriminations based simply on race and color, and those marriage laws passed to make the seduction of black girls easy and with-

out legal penalty.

Thrid the human contact of human beings must be increased; the policy which brings into sympathetic touch and understanding, men and women, rich and poor, capitalist and laborer, Asiatic and European, must bring into closer contact and mutual knowledge the white and black people of this land. It is the most frightful indictment of a country which dares to call itself civilized that it has allowed itself to drift into a state of ignorance where ten million people are coming to believe that all white people are liars and thieves, and the whites in turn to believe that the chief industry of Negroes is raping white women.

Fourth only the publication of the truth repeatedly and incisively and uncompromisingly can secure that change in public opinion which will correct these awful lies. The Crisis, our record of the darker races, must have a circulation not of 35,000 chiefly among colored folk

but of at least 250,000 among all men who believe in men. It must not be a namby-pamby box of salve, but a voice that thunders fact and is more anxious to be true than pleasing. There should be a campaign of tract distributionshort well written facts and arguments -rained over this land by millions of copies, particularly in the South, where the white people know less about the Negro than in any other part of the civilized world. The press should be utilized—the 400 Negro weeklies, the great dailies and eventually the magazines, when we get magazine editors who will lead public opinion instead of following afar with resonant brays. Lectures, lantern-slides and moving pictures, co-operating with a bureau of information and eventually becoming a Negro encyclopedia, all these are efforts along the line of making human beings realize that Negroes are human.

Such is the program of work against obstructions. Let us now turn to constructive effort. This may be summed up under (1) economic co-operation (2) a revival of art and literature (3) political action (4) education and (5) or-

ganization.

Under economic co-operation we must strive to spread the idea among colored people that the accumulation of wealth is for social rather than individual ends. We must avoid, in the advancement of the Negro race, the mistakes of ruthless exploitation which have marked modern economic history. To this end we must seek not simply home ownership, small landholding and saving accounts, but also all forms of co-operation, both in production and distribution, profit sharing, building and loan associations, systematic charity for definite, practical ends, systematic migration from mob rule and robbery, to freedom and enfranchisement, the emancipation of women and the abolition of child labor.

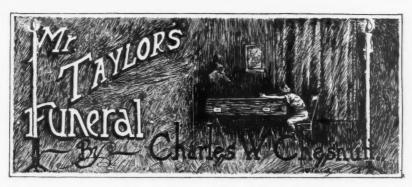
In art and literature we should try to loose the tremendous emotional wealth of the Negro and the dramatic strength of his problems through writing, the stage, pageantry and other forms of art. We should resurrect forgotten ancient Negro art and history, and we should set the black man before

the world as both a creative artist and a strong subject for artistic treatment.

In political action we should organize the votes of Negroes in such congressional districts as have any number of Negro voters. We should systematically interrogate candidates on matters vital to Negro freedom and uplift. We should train colored voters to reject the bribe of office and to accept only decent legal enactments both for their own uplift and for the uplift of laboring classes of all races and both sexes.

In education we must seek to give colored children free public school training. We must watch with grave suspicion the attempt of those who, under the guise of vocational training, would fasten ignorance and menial service on the Negro for another generation. Our children must not in large numbers, be forced into the servant class; for menial service is still, in the main, little more than an antiquated survival of impossible conditions. It has always been as statistics show, a main cause of bastardy and prostitution and despite its many marvelous exceptions it will never come to the light of decency and honor until the house servant becomes the Servant in the House. It is our duty then, not drastically but persistently, to seek out colored children of ability and genius, to open up to them broader, industrial opportunity and above all, to find that Talented Tenth and encourage it by the best and most exhaustive training in order to supply the Negro race and the world with leaders, thinkers and artists.

For the accomplishment of all these ends we must organize. Organization among us already has gone far but it must go much further and higher. Organization is sacrifice. It is sacrifice of opinions, of time, of work and of money, but it is, after all, the cheapest way of buying the most priceless of gifts-freedom and efficiency. I thank God that most of the money that supports the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People comes from black hands; a still larger proportion must so come, and we must not only support but control this and similar organizations and hold them unwaveringly to our objects, our aims and our ideals.



M R. David Taylor had been for many years chief steward, during the season of navigation, upon a steamboat running between Groveland and Buffalo, on one of the Great Lakes. The salary and perquisites made the place a renumerative one, and Mr. Taylor had saved considerable money. During the winter time he ran a coal yard, where he supplied poor people with coal in small quantities at a large profit. He invested his savings in real estate, and in the course of time became the owner of a row of small houses on a side street in Groveland, as well as of a larger house on the corner of the adjacent main street.

Mr. Taylor was a stout mulatto, with curly hair and a short gray mustache. He had been a little wild in his youth, but had settled down into a steady old bachelor, in which state he remained until he was past forty-five, when he surprised his friends by marrying a young wife and taking her to live with

him in the corner house.

Miss Lula Sampson was a very personable young woman, of not more than twenty-two or twenty-three. She had not been without other admirers; but Mr. Taylor's solid attractions had more than counter-balanced the advantages of these others in the way of youth and sprightliness. For Miss Sampson, while not without her sentimental side, had a practical vein as well, and concluded that on the whole it would be better to be a rich old man's darling than a poor young man's slave.

They lived together very comfortably in the corner house, and Mrs. Taylor

enjoyed to the full such advantages as regular rents and savings-bank dividends carried in their train. Mr. Taylor had been for many years a leading member of the Jerusalem Methodist Church, in which he had at various times acted as class-leader, trustee and deacon, and of which he had been at all times the financial backer and manager. Mrs. Taylor had been brought up, so to speak, in the Mt. Horeb Baptist Church, and had at one time sung in the choir; but after her marriage she very dutifully attended service with her husband, only visiting the Baptist church on special occasions, such as weddings or funerals or other events of general public interest.

One day in May, 1900, a month or more after the opening of navigation in the Spring, Mr. Taylor left Groveland on the steamer Mather for Buffalo, on one of her regular semi-weekly trips to that When the steamer returned several days later without him, his wife and friends felt some concern at his nonappearance, as no message had been received from him in the meantime. Inquiry on the steamer merely brought out the fact that Taylor had not been on hand when the boat was ready to leave port, and that she had sailed without him; in fact he had not been missed until the Mather was some miles out.

When several days more elapsed without news from the absent man, his wife's uneasiness became a well-defined alarm. She could account for his absence on no hypothesis except that some harm had befallen him. And upon reading an item in a newspaper, about a week after Mr. Taylor's disappearance, to the effect that the body of a middle-aged mulatto had been found floating in Buffalo harbor, she divined at once that her husband had been the victim of accident, or foul play, and that it was his body that had been recovered. With a promptitude born of sincere regret and wifely sorrow, she requested the company of Deacon Larkins, the intimate personal friend and class-leader of her husband, and with him took the train for Buffalo. Arriving there they found the body at an undertaking establishment. It had evidently been in the water several days, and the features were somewhat disfigured, but nevertheless Mrs. Taylor had no difficulty in identifying the body as that of her late husband. She had the remains prepared for shipment, and the day after her arrival at Buffalo accompanied them back to Groveland. She had telegraphed for a hearse to be at the depot, and when she saw the coffin placed in it she took a carriage with Deacon Larkins and drove to her home.

"Brother Larkins," she said, in griefstricken accents, as she thought of her good friend and husband and of the narrow cell in which he must soon be laid, "I wish you would t-t-take charge of the arrangements for the f-f-funeral. I know my dear dead David loved you, and would have wished you to attend to it."

"I shall be glad to, Sister Taylor. It is the last service I can perform for my dear friend and brother. His loss will be a sad blow to the church, and to us all."

In pursuance of his instructions Deacon Larkins engaged an undertaker, inserted in the newspapers a notice announcing the date of the funeral, requested six of the intimate friends of the deceased to act as pall-bearers, and telegraphed the pastor of the Methodist Church, who was out of town, to be on hand on Wednesday, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, to conduct the services and preach the funeral sermon.

Several friends of the family called on Mrs. Taylor during the day preceding the funeral, among them the Reverend Alonzo Brown, pastor of the Mt. Horeb Baptist Church. Mr. Brown was a

youngish man, apparently not more than thirty, and had himself suffered a bereavement several years before, in the loss of a wife to whom he had made a model husband, so excellent a husband indeed that more than one lady had envied his wife when living, and when she died, had thought that her successor would be indeed a fortunate woman. In addition to possessing these admirable domestic qualities the Reverend Alonzo was a very handsome man, of lightbrown complexion, and with large and expressive black eyes and very glossy curly hair. Indeed, Mrs. Taylor herself had several times thought that if an overruling Providence in its inscrutable wisdom should see fit to remove her dear David from his earthly career while she was yet a young woman-which was not at all unlikely, since he was twenty-five years her senior-there was no man of her acquaintance with whom she could more willingly spend the remainder of her days and the money her good David would leave her, than the Reverend Alonzo Brown. Of course this had been only one of the vague day dreams of a lively imagination; but it is not surprising, when the central figure in this vision called on her upon the heels of the very event upon which the day-dreams had been predicated, that the idea should penetrate even the veil of grief that surrounded her, and assume something of the nature of a definite probability.

Mr. Brown was a man of tact, and consoled the widow very beautifully in her bereavement.

"Yes, Sister Taylor," he said, pressing her hand with soothing friendliness, "your loss is indeed great, for your husband was a man of whom any woman might have been proud. You displayed excellent taste and judgment, too, Sister Taylor, in selecting as your companion a man of steady habits and settled character, who could leave you suitably provided for during the rest of your life.

The widow sobbed at the magnitude of her loss, but was not unmindful of the compliment to her own taste and judgment.

"But the saddest feature about our dear brother's taking off is not your loss;" he said, again pressing her hand

consolingly, "it is what he himself has lost—the companionship of one who made his household a model for his friends to imitate, and the despair of those who could not hope to be so fortunate. It is true," he added, with proper professional consistency, "that he has gone to his reward; but I am sure he would willingly have waited for it a few years longer in this terrestrial paradise."

The minister, as he said this, looked around appreciatively at the very comfortable room in which they sat. There was handsome paper on the walls, a bright red carpet on the floor, lace curtains at the windows, a piano, a well-filled book-case,—and in fact all the evidences of solid prosperity, based on landed proprietorship. And by his side too, sat the weeping young widow, to whom tears and weeds were by no means unbecoming.

While he had been speaking an idea had occurred to Mrs. Taylor. She was before her marriage a member of his church. The pastor of the Methodist church, she had learned since her return from Buffalo, was out of town, in attendance on the general conference of his denomination in session at New York. It would be a very nice thing indeed to have Mr. Brown preach the funeral sermon.

"Brother Brown," she said, on the impulse of the moment, "I want you to do me a favor. Will you preach my dear David's funeral sermon?"

He reflected a moment. It was an opportunity to secure that influence which would enable him to lead back into his fold this very desirable sheep.

"If you don't think it will be taken amiss by his own church," he answered, "it would give me great pleasure to perform the last sad rites over our departed friend."

"There will be no trouble about that," she replied. "Elder Johnson has gone to general conference, and there is no one else whom I would prefer to yourself. I ask it as a personal favor."

"It shall be done at any cost," he said determinedly, again pressing her hand in farewell.

"And if you will ask the choir to sing, I shall be under still greater obligations,"

she said. "They are all my friends, and I have often joined with them on similar occasions, before I was married, and I'm sure you would prefer them."

About an hour after Mr. Brown went away, Deacon Larkins called to make a final report of the arrangements he had

made.

"I've requested several of the brethren to act as pallbearers," he said, naming them, "and have asked the choir to furnish the music. Elder Johnson telegraphed this afternoon that he would be here in time to preach the sermon. He has already started, and will get here by half-past one, and come right up from the depot."

Mrs. Taylor scented trouble. "But I thought he couldn't come, and I've invited Elder Brown to preach the ser-

mon," she said.

Deacon Larkins looked annoyed. "There'll be trouble," he said. "You asked me to make arrangements and I acted accordingly."

"What can we do about it?" she asked

anxiously.

"Don't ask me," he said. "I'm not responsible for the difficulty."

"But you can help me," she said. "I see no way out of it but to explain the situation to Elder Brown and ask him to retire. Please do that for me."

Deacon Larkins grumbled a little and went away, intending to do as requested. But the more he thought about the matter the more displeased he felt at the widow's action. She had not only been guilty of disrespect to him, in asking a minister to conduct the services without consulting the man in whose charge she had placed the arrangements, but she had committed the far more serious offense of slighting the Methodist church. He could hardly think of a graver breach of propriety than to ask the minister of a rival denomination to officiate at this funeral. If it had been some obscure member of the congregation the matter would have been of less consequence; but to request the Baptist minister to preach Brother David's funeral sermon was something like asking Martin Luther to assist at the Pope's interment. The more Deacon Larkins thought of it the less he liked it; and finally he concluded that he would simply wash his hands of the entire business—if the widow wanted to call off Elder Brown she would have to do it herself.

He wrote a note to this effect and sent it by his youngest son, a lad of ten, with instructions to deliver it to Mrs. Taylor. The boy met a companion and went off to play, and lost the note. His father was away when he got back home. In the meantime the boy had forgotten about the note, and left his father to in-

fer that it had been delivered.

About a quarter of two on the day of the funeral the friends began to arrive. The undertaker in charge seated them. When the Baptist choir came it was shown to the place provided beforehand for the singers. When a few minutes later the Methodist choir arrived and stated what their part in the service was to be, the undertaker, supposing they were an addition to the number already on hand, gave them the seats nearest those occupied by the Baptist choir. There was some surprise apparent, but for a while nothing was said, the members of the two bodies confining themselves to looks not altogether friendly. Some of them thought it peculiar that, if the two choirs had been asked to cooperate, there had been no notice given and no opportunity to practice together; but all awaited for the coming of the officiating minister to solve the difficulty. Meantime the friends of the family continued to arrive, until the room where the remains were placed was filled to overflowing, and there were people standing in the hall and seated in other rooms from which they would be able to see or hear very little of the exercises.

At just five minutes to two a livery carriage drove up to the gate, and deposited on the pavement a tall dark man, wearing a silk hat, a high vest, and a coat of clerical cut—it was Elder Johnson, of the Jerusalem Methodist Church. The elder paid the driver his fee, and went in at the front gate. At the same moment the pastor of the Baptist Church came in at the side gate and drew near the front door. The two preachers meton the porch, and bowed to one another stiffly. The undertaker's assistant came forward and took their hats.

"Which of you gentlemen is to conduct the service?" asked the undertaker, with a professionally modulated voice.

"I shall conduct the service," answered Elder Josnson in a matter-of-fact tone. "I am to conduct the service," said Mr. Brown firmly, in the same breath.

(To be continued.)

BURDEN

O bsequiousness begets friends; truth, hatred.—Terence.

College, Baltimore, Md.

I should be glad personally to listen to Dr. —— of whom I have some knowledge and I think it would be a very suitable thing for the college to hear him speak, but Baltimore is not yet educated up to that point and until it is it would only do harm instead of good for me to comply with your request. [From a white college president who had been offered a colored lecturer.]

The Hartman Furniture and Carpet Company, 400 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is sending out circulars for mail orders. It asks its customers to "please answer the questions below." One question is "State whether white or colored." We wonder why?

colored." We wonder why?

M. L. Matlock, of Cleveland, writes us that Collier's Weekly will not accept colored people on their installment plan which they are pushing in that city.

M. Gehrts relates an amusing incident in Togoland, West Africa. A little (Continued on page 318)

The Proper Amount of Life Insurance You Should Have

Nearly every colored man in America carries a weekly policy. Fully two-thirds of the men over 21 are members of some secret order whose death benefits are from \$50.00 to \$300.00. There are a very few hundred colored men who have over \$5,000 life insurance in legal reserve life insurance companies.

In fact, one insurance publication said, "The amount of life insurance carried by Negroes is so negligible that it is left out of all consideration in this book." This, too, despite the fact that the total amount of insurance carried in America amounts to Billions of Dollars, and every year the Life Insurance Companies of America pay to the heirs of deceased Americans Millions of Dollars in good current United States Money.

Even the average white man who dies leaves his family in better condition. Whatever else he has neglected he has been thoughtful of his life insurance. On the other hand, many well-to-do colored men die and leave their families poorer than when they lived. The average white man's life insurance is \$2,500. The average colored man's is \$350.00. The white man begins to buy a home for \$3,000.00; he protects that obligation by taking out the amount of life insurance so that if he dies before he finishes payment, his family will not lose the place nor will they be forced to sacrifice everything to complete payment on that home. The usual colored man begins to buy a home and immediately declares he is unable to carry any life insurance. Then when the interest has accumulated on his notes and it is really a job for him to pay these notes with all his efforts while he lives, he dies and leaves his family to pay them as best they can with no means left behind with which to pay.

Somebody remarked that "there are very few dead rich Negroes." You know estates crumble. You know how surprised you have been when So-and-so died and left nothing but a lot of debts. Everybody thought he was rich while he lived. His family lived and dressed well. Apparently, he had lots of money and property. When he died it took all his money and property to pay his debts. He failed to protect his estate with Life Insurance. He might have kept on being prosperous if he had lived, but he failed to leave anything in his place at death. A few thousand dollars in immediate cash such as a life insurance policy provides would have saved to his wife and family the estate of many a man who was rated as rich while he lived.

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"Really and truly you are, Miss," he replied with childish frankness. "But," he added, "You cannot help that, for the good God made you so, did He not? We cannot all be black and beautiful!"

¶"No form of government can be based on systematic injustice. The election of Congressmen is a national not a local matter. If it be a race question, is there any reason why the white man in the South should have two votes to my one? Is he alone of mortals to eat his cake and have it too? Is he to suppress his Negro

and have him also? Among all his remedies he has never proposed to surrender the representation which he owes to the very Negro whose vote he refuses. The Negro is human enough to be represented, but not human enough to have his vote counted."—THOMAS B. REED. T"I have just forwarded an article in which you might be interested. It is about the manly effort of the Rev. Mr. J. B. Brandon of Edge Hill, Pa., to bring to justice a wealthy white man of that place who attempted to rape a respectable colored woman who is a member of Mr. Brandon's church. You can write to Rev. Mr. Brandon, Pastor Antioch Baptist church, Edge Hill., Pa. The daily papers here are keeping the matter as still as possible."

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Publisher's Chat

The MAY Crisis

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A double page cartoon by Adams. Strong articles, poems and departments, as usual.

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WHAT ONE MAN DID

Here is a picture of Dan'l Washington who worked in a Y. M. C. A. building, became ambitious and studied shorthand to improve himself. He succeeded well—others can do the same.

652 Mass. St., Gary, Ind., January 16, 1915.

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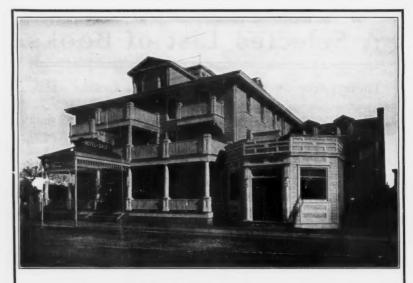
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